

**English and German influences in the
production of music-liturgical
manuscripts in Sweden up to the
thirteenth century**

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Sean Dunnahoe, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Date: 16 February, 2017

Abstract

More than 25,000 individual fragments from medieval liturgical manuscripts exist in the archives of Sweden and Finland. The books to which they belonged were mutilated in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by Swedish bailiffs, who used them to wrap local administrative accounts.

In this thesis I have made a survey of the music-liturgical fragments from these collections up to the early thirteenth century. I have focused on their palaeographical features in text and music, as well as their liturgical contents, to draw comparisons between themselves and English and German manuscripts. I argue that the fragments show a hybrid style of production that suggests a synthesis of both German and English scribal and liturgical influences, suggesting that by the mid-12th century many of the fragments were Scandinavian products, rather than imports. This was perhaps especially true in the province of Småland, where scribes successfully created a unique local style that relied heavily on unheightened German neumes within an otherwise 'English' scribal context.

In addition to the codicological evidence, the transmission of two special feasts are examined. The English and German offices for King Oswald are traced in the fragments, with the goal of establishing the context and manner of their transmission into Sweden. The English and Norman versions of the feast of the Conception of Mary are also traced. In both cases I use examples from the Swedish fragments to draw attention to problems with our current understanding of the history of each feast, and suggest possible theories that would solve those problems.

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List of Abbreviations

AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica</i>
BL	British Library
FM	<i>Fragmenta membranea</i> database
HE	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum</i>
MPO	<i>Medeltida Pergamentomslag</i> database

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Introduction

Beginning with a brief catalogue of hand-picked sources in 1914 and culminating in a freely accessible online database of more than twenty thousand fragments in 2013, the Swedish National Archives have had a long history of curating and cataloguing the many thousands of medieval manuscript fragments in their collection. In almost every case these fragments survived into our era as the wrappers for administrative documents produced by the provincial bailiffs, accountants and court chambers of Sweden during the Vasa dynasty (1523-1654). The Vasa administrative project was a massive one, and for more than a century and a half nearly every 'Landskap' provincial record in the Swedish kingdom, including those from Sweden's territories in Finland and throughout the Baltic, were wrapped and bound using a bifolio leaf of an old medieval manuscript. Most of these were from liturgical books, made obsolete after the Swedish Reformation. Between the National Archives, the Royal Library, Uppsala University Library and a handful of other small collections, more than 22,900 individual fragments have been collected and catalogued in the online *Medeltida Pergamentomslag* ('Medieval Parchment Cover') database, with many photographs available online; in Finland, a similar online database, *Fragmenta membranea*, hosts images and some basic information for 9,319 of the 10,345 fragments which now rest in Finland.

The vast majority of medieval manuscripts that were still extant in Sweden and Finland by the early sixteenth century survive only as fragments within this collection. Because of this, studies in the early history of Swedish liturgy and book production have been fraught with obscurity. Only in the past decade have researchers been able to access a catalogue that listed even the most basic contents of the majority of these fragments, and even now it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the historical contexts for most of the fragments. However, thanks to the Vasa bailiffs' rather meticulous organization of their records, it is possible to trace many of the fragments to individual bailiffs and provincial chambers, sometimes even allowing the researcher to argue that the manuscript was at a specific town in the sixteenth century. In this dissertation I make some arguments along these lines, and go even further by suggesting that fragments which survive as wrappers from the same provincial accounts and also

show similar palaeographical features were probably used locally, within that province, during the Middle Ages.

Another topic broadly explored in this project is the extent to which English customs were influential in the development of Swedish book production during the twelfth century, when the episcopal and monastic infrastructure of Sweden was establishing itself. Prior studies have showcased the role of the Anglo-Saxons as missionaries in Scandinavia (though mostly to Norway and Denmark), and as more fragments from the *Medeltida Pergamentomslag* and *Fragmenta membranea* databases became publicly available online, several researchers have also commented on the startling number of eleventh- and twelfth-century fragments which appear to be of English origin, when most of the fragments from those centuries were once expected to be primarily Germanic in origin. I examine a number of these fragments in different ways, using a mixture of palaeography and codicology, cultural history, liturgical studies and theories of chant transmission, to argue that English liturgical culture and book culture had a profound impact on early ecclesiastical Sweden. In fact, I even argue that this impact was immediate and thorough, to the extent that many of the twelfth-century fragments that have been identified previously as imports from England were most likely local Swedish products, made either by transplanted English scribes or by local scribes trained in practices that were heavily influenced by English models.

This dissertation is divided into three sections, each of a single chapter. The first chapter provides a general history of the conversion of Scandinavia and Sweden in particular, with a focus on the establishment and development of an autonomous Scandinavian ecclesiastical network, and role of the English in this history. The history of manuscript production and scriptoria in Sweden is also discussed, from their beginnings to the eventual destruction of thousands of medieval books to use as wrappers for accounts during the Reformation. The modern cataloguing projects, their purposes and pitfalls, and a brief historiography of research on Scandinavian and Swedish fragments rounds out the chapter.

The second chapter contains palaeographical and liturgical analyses of a variety of twelfth-century liturgical fragments held in the Swedish and Finnish archives. They are compared not only to each other, but to contemporary examples from England and Germany as well. In this chapter I have found it both necessary and useful to examine the fragments in groups of several different criteria: those that contain unheightened

notation as opposed to staffed notation; those that have been previously attributed to England, France or Germany; and those that have survived in the account books of specific Swedish provinces, such as Småland, Östergötland or Västergötland.

The final chapter takes two feasts and studies their presence within the Swedish fragments in depth. The mass for the Conception of Mary and the office for St Oswald of Northumbria were both chosen as case studies because they are each represented by a comparatively large number of fragments from medieval Sweden and Finland, and because both are understood to have had distinct versions that were observed in England at some point during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In both cases I draw comparisons between the examples seen in the fragments and those from England and from the continent, developing an argument over whether the English versions had more or less influence over more universal versions, or versions particular to Germany.

At the end of the dissertation are also a series of appendices, including a master table that compares basic codicological and palaeographical information of the liturgical fragments consulted in this project, a small series of detailed palaeographical descriptions and analyses from select fragments with unheightened neumatic notation, and a collection of facsimile images from select fragments for illustrative purposes.

Throughout this dissertation, some assumptions of terminology are made. In order for a ‘script’ to have been copied onto a fragment, a ‘scribe’ must have copied it there with his ‘hand’. Because of the impossibility of proving the numbers and identities of these scribes, the use of ‘scribe’ or ‘hand’ in any particular instance is based on whatever seemed most opportune within the context; it is assumed throughout that any two scribes or scribal hands mentioned may have in fact been the same person.

Both textual and musical scripts are discussed throughout, and so care has been taken to differentiate between music scripts, hands and scribes on the one hand, and textual scripts, hands and scribes on the other. Nevertheless, because of the nature of the research more focus is placed on the music scripts in general; therefore, whenever a ‘script’, ‘hand’ or ‘scribe’ is mentioned without qualification, and there is no established context over which type is meant, it can be assumed to refer to the musical notation.

I have attempted to provide plates and figures for fragments with no digital images available wherever possible. If a fragment is mentioned without reference to a

plate or figure, links to digital images have been provided in the List of Fragment Images, at the back of the dissertation.

Chapter 1

Influences from England and the continent on the early Swedish church, up to the thirteenth century

1.1 The Christianization of Scandinavia

The first organized efforts to bring Christianity to Scandinavia came in the ninth century, the most famous of which are the missions of Ansgar, a monk and later Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.¹ How Ansgar originally came to Scandinavia is essentially a matter of Danish politics. Following the death of King Godfrid in 810, one of the main, though ultimately unsuccessful, contenders for the kingdom was Harald 'Klak' Halfdansson (not to be confused with King Harald 'Fairhair' Halfdansson of Norway), who was baptized in 826 while living in exile in the court of Louis the Pious.² Harald Klak's motivations for conversion may have been mercenary, as after his conversion Louis (now his godfather and ruler) provided the political aid he had been seeking during his repeated attempts to conquer his Danish homeland; regardless, one of his first acts as the Emperor's subject was to invite Ansgar to set up a mission for the Christianization of the Danes.³ Between 826 and 831 Ansgar and his assistants worked in Denmark, and at one point he also travelled to Birka in Sweden for the same purpose. In 831 Ansgar returned to continent and became the first archbishop of the combined dioceses of Hamburg and Bremen, but continued to send missionary monks to

¹ Archbishop Ebo of Rheims was in Scandinavia first (he led a mission to Denmark in 823), but his trip seems to have met with only partial success, and in any case it is perhaps best seen now as a scouting trip that was more fully realized in Ansgar's missions, in which Ebo participated vicariously as one of Ansgar's primary sponsors as well as his direct ecclesiastical superior; Anders Winroth, *The conversion of Scandinavia* (2012), 9 and 16.

² A short but exhaustive list of contemporary sources outside of Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* that mention Harald Klak's conversion can be found in James T. Palmer, 'Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii* and Scandinavian mission in the ninth century' (2004), 236, n. 5.

³ Rimbert of Hamburg-Bremen, *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (1884), 26-27; Anders Winroth, *The conversion of Scandinavia* (2012), 53-57.

Scandinavia to maintain the church communities established at Schleswig, Ribe and Birka.⁴

Most details of St Ansgar's life come from two posthumous biographies of different dates, the earlier in a *Vita* made by Rimbert, who succeeded him as Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and who was also an assistant to him in his missions, and the later in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* of the eleventh century.⁵ It was not until the eleventh century that various Scandinavian kings began formally adopting Christianity, and the region underwent a rapid process of Christianization at that time. Norway, Sweden and Denmark each had their own autonomous archdiocesan ecclesiastical structures set in place by 1164, independent of Hamburg-Bremen and of each other.

The part of this history that is of primary concern to this thesis, however, is not necessarily the role of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen in the process of Scandinavian Christianization, but rather the role of English churchmen. Since the turn of the twentieth century there has been general agreement that the English church was heavily involved in this history, specifically in Norway and to a lesser extent Denmark—some scholars have made the same claims regarding English involvement in Sweden, but these were not as widely acknowledged until some decades later.⁶ By 1995, however, enough scholarship had been published on the subject of Anglo-Scandinavian religious relations that Lesley Abrams was able to summarize the archaeological and textual evidence to provide what has become a highly influential view of this history.

Working primarily within a framework of political and diplomatic history, with only the occasional use of 'silent' witnesses in art, archaeology and liturgy, Abrams formed an exhaustive historiography of the previous century regarding the possibility of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman missionary efforts in Scandinavia, from Ansgar's first mission in 826 to the conclusive foundation of the Swedish archdiocese of Uppsala in 1164.⁷ The history presented here is one of kings and bishops, working—or

⁴ Rimbert of Hamburg, *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (1884), 33-36 and 60-64.

⁵ Adam's biography of Ansgar takes up a large section of Book 1 of his *Gesta*, chapters 14-35. Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte* (1917), 17-38.

⁶ The historiography surrounding English involvement in Norway, Denmark and Sweden is discussed further down in this chapter, in section 1.7.

⁷ Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 213.

wrangling—together to form their own Scandinavian kingdoms and ecclesiastical sees; the actuality of priests and monks working 'in the field', as it were, is largely absent. Such a bias is not only understandable, but was wholly necessary: since the English chronicles are entirely silent regarding any missionary activity in Scandinavia, most of the evidence for such a topic would have to be inferred indirectly through liturgical and archaeological sources, and in 1995 most of our current knowledge along these lines was still nascent. None of the manuscript cataloguing projects in Sweden, Norway, Denmark or Finland were anywhere near completion (or even begun, in some cases); Helmut Gneuss' handlist of English manuscripts was still the only study available that made broad connections between English and Scandinavian sources from the tenth through twelfth centuries.⁸

Abrams essentially broke the conversion of Scandinavia into three phases, following the same model adopted by Phillip Pulsiano and followed more recently by Anders Winroth: first, the ninth-century early missions of St Ansgar, recorded by his successor Rimbert; second, a long series of tenth- and eleventh-century anonymous missions by (presumably) German and English monks that are largely known to us through archaeological evidence only, whose biggest victories were in the infrequent conversions of Scandinavia's royalty; and third, the rapid establishment and growth of Christianity as the official religion in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, legitimized by its own archdioceses.⁹ Neither Abrams nor anyone before her had found any substantial evidence that the Anglo-Saxons were involved in any way with Ansgar's mission, and it is recorded there, as it is here, mainly for the purposes of historical continuity and context, the backdrop in which the Anglo-Saxons had entered the scene. In fact, there is considerable distance between Ansgar's life and the earliest evidence of Anglo-Saxon missionary involvement: the immediate effects of St Ansgar's mission are unknown, and despite frequent exhortations for the rulers and churchmen of England and Francia to solve the Viking problem through evangelization and conversion, the archaeological evidence suggests that earnest missionary work in the region did not begin until well into the tenth century, nearly a hundred years after Ansgar's death in

⁸ Helmut Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100' (1981), 1-60.

⁹ Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf, *Medieval Scandinavia: An encyclopedia* (1993), 84-92 and 106-08; Anders Winroth, *The conversion of Scandinavia* (2012), 104.

865.¹⁰ Regardless of when the Anglo-Saxons became involved in large numbers, these first two centuries of evangelization in Scandinavia were dominated largely by the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, and Abrams argued that English activity likely came into force only at the end of the tenth century at the very earliest. Earlier efforts at evangelization may have existed, but these were likely limited in scope to the conversion of Danes living in the British Isles.¹¹

The second period of this history falls largely from the mid-tenth century to the mid-eleventh, and revolves around the formations of stable kingdoms in Scandinavia and the conversions of their respective kings. The majority of the textual evidence for this period comes either from a later generation of writers or from highly propagandized accounts such as Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*; as a result, much of the difficulty in interpreting the sources of this period comes from the impossibility of separating Adam's statements of 'historical truth' from his statements of what we might now call propaganda. Regardless of when Scandinavian kings were baptised or when the first episcopal sees were established, and in spite of conflicting accounts of whether or not Christianity was supported by the local pagan royalty, archaeological digs have uncovered what can be interpreted as distinctly Christian elements in Scandinavian burial sites from the tenth century onwards, especially in those along coastal Norway.¹² This shows that, at least among the Norwegian population, the process of conversion was well underway by c. 950. The case for Denmark is less concrete in its evidence, further confused by what appears to be a direct conflict between what the German chroniclers tell us and what archaeological evidence has been found. By and large, instead of a continuation of the organized efforts led largely by the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen in the previous century, the tenth-century missions in Denmark were characterized by a certain *laissez-faire* 'freedom of

¹⁰ Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 213 and 215-16.

¹¹ In the last decade of the ninth century Pope Formosus had issued a letter reprimanding the Anglo-Saxon bishops for their inability to convert the Danish pagans in England, but subsequently retracted upon learning that headway had in fact been made. Walter de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1887), 214-16, no. 573.

¹² Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 218.

opportunity' amongst enterprising, but independent, missionaries.¹³ However, in the past twenty years no tangible evidence has been found to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons were at all involved in the free enterprise of missionizing in Denmark, or perhaps even elsewhere in Scandinavia.¹⁴ It was only after the dawn of the eleventh century, during the period of Danish invasions of England, that direct missionary contact seems to have come about, perhaps because the House of Denmark that ruled England through most of the years between 1013 and 1042 usually had direct rule over Denmark as well. Svein Forkbeard, the father of Cnut the Great and briefly declared the King of England for several months after his invasion in 1013, had appointed an Englishman, Gotebald, to evangelize in his Scandinavian realm (i.e., in Denmark and/or Norway) sometime after the year 1000.¹⁵ This relationship would only have been strengthened by the subsequent line of Anglo-Danish kings, and Cnut's territorial expansions into Norway and Sweden may have allowed an English Christianizing influence to spread deeper into those regions as well.

This last point is not entirely without its detractors. Abrams remained reserved about using Cnut to explain away any influences of English material culture in Norway or Sweden.¹⁶ Cnut's enthusiasm for the church in England seems largely to have focused specifically on monasticism, and there is no evidence for this enthusiasm for English monasticism spreading into Denmark during his reign; aside from a dubious thirteenth-century tradition that St Benedict Abbey in Holme, Norway was founded by Cnut, there are no direct references to Cnut building any monasteries in his Scandinavian territories, and furthermore, the abbey at Odense (est. 1095) is the only monastic house in Denmark whose establishment can be firmly placed before 1100 at all.¹⁷ Still, according to Adam of Bremen and Sven Aggesen, a Danish chronicler of the twelfth century, Cnut

¹³ *Ibid.*, 225-26.

¹⁴ Anders Winroth, *The conversion of Scandinavia* (2012), *passim*. Winroth does not mention Anglo-Saxon activity in Scandinavia during the tenth century, only in the centuries before and after it.

¹⁵ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Book 2, Chapter 41, edited in *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte* (1917), 101.

¹⁶ Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 226.

¹⁷ The earliest reference Abrams gives for the tradition of Cnut founding St Benedict's at Holme is from Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, volume 5 (1872), 42.

did send at least four English bishops to Denmark, the most notable being Gerbrand, who as early as 1022 is known in English documents as the Bishop of Roskilde.¹⁸ Abrams remained highly skeptical of any notion that Cnut was influenced by the cultural and political power of his German neighbours to aspire for ecclesiastical unity within his realm, even if his expanding territories did serve as a conduit for English participation and influence amongst the higher echelons of the Danish church.¹⁹

However the ecclesiastical landscape of Denmark and Norway looked in the eleventh century, and whatever role the English church played in it, the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen began to renew its territorial claim on the North with increased vigour. Adam of Bremen claimed that not twenty years after Svein Forkbeard had opened official channels between Denmark and the English church, Archbishop Unwin of Hamburg-Bremen had Cnut's English bishop Gerbrand arrested during a trip to Denmark; the latter was forced to recognize Hamburg-Bremen's sanctioned monopoly on the ecclesiastical custody of Denmark, and released only after making an oath of loyalty to the German see.²⁰ Contemporary English sources are entirely silent on what the Anglo-Saxon church made of this competitive attitude, but it is clear that the Swedish, Danish and Norwegians kings continued to employ English clergy throughout the eleventh century, at times even against papal recourse from the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen to do so.²¹

¹⁸ The earliest mention of Gerbrand as *Roscylde parochiae Danorum* has been edited in Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon charters* (1968), no. 958. There are reasons to be skeptical of the claims made by Adam of Bremen and Sven Aggesen, despite this fairly clear corroboration with Gerbrand: Sven may or may not have been following Adam of Bremen in his description of these events, for example. And there are other reasons to take Sven's word with caution; see Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 224-25.

¹⁹ Neither did Cnut especially favour the English church above others. He also brought German clergy into England, and if that is the case then it is very likely that he brought some into Denmark, as well; Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 228. Also see Timothy Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great* (2009), 177-79.

²⁰ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Book 2, Chapter 55, edited in *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte* (1917), 116.

²¹ Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 235-36, argues that the anxiety felt at Hamburg-Bremen at this time may actually have been due to the see's inability to control the ecclesiastical programmes of various Scandinavian kings, rather than through territorial competition between Hamburg-Bremen and Canterbury. This hypothesis is solidified further (with the case of Iceland

The peculiarities of this proposed history can only be truly understood when contextualized within the liturgical landscape in England. Such contextualization is perhaps more difficult than it at first sounds, since a rather typical methodology in liturgical studies of Anglo-Saxon England focuses on the autonomous or alternative aspects of the English church, creating a rather inward-looking view. Or, if transmission between other regions is considered, then the flow is generally unidirectional, from the continent into England; the exportation of liturgical custom out of Anglo-Saxon England is by and large the less studied half of the exchange. This is, of course, to a large extent unavoidable and even desirable, as defining precisely what made the English church unique is required before any further types of studies can be attempted, even fundamental projects like the proper identification of manuscripts. David Dumville's study on intersections between liturgy and ecclesiastical history in England fits such a methodology, focusing almost exclusively on internal relationships between late Anglo-Saxon churches; however, despite bypassing most of the broader context of English interactions with other churches in the British Isles and on the continent, the arguments put forth by Dumville can serve as a good sounding-board against which to test Lesley Abrams' theories regarding the English mission effort.²²

Dumville's study essentially challenged the hypothesis that Glastonbury Abbey was the centre of a movement of liturgical reform in the middle of the tenth century, by demonstrating that a series of liturgical calendars previously linked to Glastonbury were in fact associated with Canterbury instead.²³ According to Dumville, this implies that the reformed service books connected to those calendars—most notably the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 579) and the Junius Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius 27)—were likewise associated with Canterbury. This assertion carries some implications regarding the English in Scandinavia. Glastonbury Abbey had at one point established connections with the Norwegian episcopate in the

as a notable counter-example) in Anders Winroth, *The conversion of Scandinavia* (2012), 154-56. Indeed, both authors reject any notion that there was ever a concerted effort in any of the English ecclesiastical centres of adopting Scandinavia as a daughter-church, as Hamburg-Bremen had.

²² David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England* (1992).

²³ Dumville's observations in part challenged Robert Deshman, 'The Leofric Missal and tenth-century English art' (1977), 145-46.

eleventh century through their monk Sigfrid, if William of Malmesbury is to be believed, and Canterbury had similar episcopal connections with Denmark through Archbishop Æthelnoth, who served as Cnut's chaplain and consecrated Gerbrand as Bishop of Roskilde, and later through the monk Ælnoth, who in the very early twelfth century wrote a *Vita* for Cnut.²⁴ Much more work would have to be performed before any tentative connections could be made between sources from Scandinavia and those of 'reformed' Canterbury or 'non-reformed' Glastonbury. To date, no connections have been put forth, at least in published form, with perhaps only a small number of tentative exceptions in this dissertation, and a study by David Dumville which suggestively places links between Canterbury and an eleventh-century missal commonly known as 'Mi 1', whose fragments are scattered across several Scandinavian archives.²⁵ However, with a greater understanding of the liturgies that are preserved in Scandinavian fragments, there will also be a greater understanding of how those English centres interacted with their Nordic counterparts.

Even though the historical record mentions little more than that two individual bishops in Scandinavia were from Glastonbury or Canterbury (or, in the cases of other prominent churchmen, from unknown English houses), there is a strong possibility that a comparatively large number of fragments in Scandinavian archives can be shown to follow the uses of English manuscripts from specific houses; certainly, several of the fragments in this dissertation show that this is true for the fragments in Sweden and Finland, and there is no reason why the fragments in Denmark and Norway should be any different. As such, I would argue that the Scandinavian fragments are a matter of central importance to the future study of English liturgical practices in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There are currently very few known examples from these centuries that attest the transmission of liturgical books out of England. Indeed, Dumville mentioned the Missal of Robert of Jumièges as the only demonstrable example of an Anglo-Saxon episcopal book being made for use elsewhere; there are, however, indirect accounts of such practices taking place, particularly to France and Normandy, and Dumville asserted that the exportation of service books, especially at the episcopal

²⁴ David Knowles, *The monastic order in England* (1976), 67-69; Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 227 and 239.

²⁵ The missal 'Mi 1' is discussed further down in this chapter, on pages 33 and 40.

level, must have been fairly common and possibly even seen as an efficient way of recycling books that had fallen into disuse.²⁶ The surprising number of eleventh-century fragments in Scandinavia with strong English ties, such as Mi 1, certainly can be contextualized within this model. However, it should not be assumed that such sources could have made their way to Scandinavia only after they were no longer deemed serviceable in England. Interaction with the English ecclesiastical world existed throughout the period in which books such as Mi 1 were being produced, making it also a distinct possibility that the books were sent to Scandinavia while they were still rather new, or even that they were specifically intended for export. In fact, there is evidence of English monks relocating to Scandinavian houses, lending credence to the possibility that English scribes were producing books locally within Scandinavian priories.

Both Glastonbury and Canterbury are known to have had episcopal and monastic connections to Norway and Denmark during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, but they were not the only ones. So did Evesham, and St Mary's in York; it is not unreasonable to assume that other houses did as well. In the latter half of the eleventh century, Evesham was invited by King Eric I and Bishop Hubald to establish a monastery in Odense, and the abbey sent twelve monks to do so. This was done under the leadership of Robert of Jumièges, but David Knowles had argued that the request demonstrates longstanding good relations between Denmark and Evesham, likely forged earlier in the century when Aylward, a blood relation of Cnut, was abbot.²⁷ Whether or not this is accurate, the good relations that were established must have lasted for many years, since another expedition was organized to revitalize the abbey in the second half of the twelfth century, and Evesham continued to have personal investment in the election of the prior at Odense—though they must not have been too territorial about their daughter house, as the Odense priory also enjoyed confraternity with St Mary's in York.²⁸

In the sources these connections appear limited to Denmark and Norway, and it is striking that Glastonbury and Canterbury in particular would be singled out as establishing relationships with Danish and Norwegian contact, as Archbishop

²⁶ Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Y.6 (274); David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (1992), 92-94.

²⁷ David Knowles, *The monastic order in England* (1976), 164.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Æthelnoth had close connections to both institutions; aside from Adam of Bremen's claims of unnamed English missionaries being martyred in Sweden, the first concrete documentary evidence of English churchmen living and working in Sweden comes from the twelfth century (though no specifics of English origin are ever given).²⁹ As it happens, however, the established relationships between Canterbury, Evesham, Glastonbury and York serve as good starting points for comparison, and they create an enticing set of possible influences on the liturgies of Scandinavia.

1.2 The production and use of liturgical books in Scandinavia

Throughout the entire period of Christianization in Scandinavia, the supply of books would have been a common material requirement. However, our understanding of the importation, production and use of books in Scandinavia prior to the thirteenth century is sketchy at best, with vast areas about which we know nothing at all. The earliest mention of liturgical books being brought into Scandinavia is from St Ansgar's Vita, where Rimbert described how Ansgar's group took nearly forty books (or more) with them on the mission to Birka in Sweden, which 'they had collected for the service of God,' only to have them robbed when his boat was assailed by pirates.³⁰ Rimbert did not mention what types of books, other than that they were for the service of God. He also did not mention exactly how large Ansgar's party was, though he mentions Ansgar's pupil Witmar, and Gautbert was asked to continue with the mission when he left; and, presumably, Rimbert himself is likely to have accompanied him, making the headcount possibly four or more.³¹

Assuming for a moment that the number can be taken as accurate, it seems unlikely that these would have all been Bibles. Probably quite a few of them would have been service books. In fact, with the scriptures of the Bible already scattered

²⁹ *Idem*, 67-70.

³⁰ '*Inter quae pene 40 libros, quos ad servitium Dei sibi aggregaverant, illis diripientibus amiserunt.*' Rimbert of Hamburg, *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (1884), 32.

³¹ Rimbert only mentioned Witmar; *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (1884), 31-32. The *Chronicon Corbeiensis* contains an entry for 936 that refers to the mission to Birka, apparently naming Ansgar, Rimbert, Witmar and Gautbert; Charles H. Robinson, *Anskar: The Apostle to the North, 801-865* (1921), 18.

throughout the mass and office in the form of lessons, gospel readings, psalms, and so forth, the presence of a complete Bible codex may not have even been entirely necessary. For their missionizing efforts one can imagine that Ansgar and his companions would have wanted to bring all the necessary books for public service (the mass)—i.e., a sacramentary, gradual, mass lectionary and possibly evangeliary, ritual, an *ordo missae*, and so forth, as separate books or combined as their practices dictated; and as monks they may have wanted to keep private services as well, and so would need the appropriate books for the office—breviary, antiphoner, lectionary, psalter, etc. This still would not explain the need to travel with a full forty books, unless they planned on dividing their forces at some point, wanted the security of additional copies, had personal books assigned to each member, or had simply brought a number of the books as part of the 'royal gifts' which were also plundered by the pirates, putting an entirely different spin on what Rimbert meant about using the books in God's service.³² In either case, the undertaking must have been a very ambitious one. The inventory compiled for Ely Abbey around 1093 listed only seventy-nine liturgical books, twice the size of the supposed forty books sent with Ansgar.³³ Even if only a portion of Ansgar's books were liturgical in nature, the quantity must have seemed impressive.

Whether or not Ansgar's mission to Sweden can be seen as archetypal for later missions in the next two centuries, certainly two things can be taken from it as probably true: first, that books—almost certainly liturgical books—were considered major commodities to the missionaries; and second, that they needed to haul the books with them, having little recourse to produce them anew once they reached their destination. Over the tenth and eleventh centuries the number of liturgical books that must have passed through Scandinavia, whether to remain there indefinitely or only temporarily for an itinerant mission, was probably quite large, and if known documentary and archaeological evidence is to be taken as an accurate portrayal of events, then during the latter half of this period many of them would have been English books specifically.

But when did books begin to be produced in Scandinavia, and in Sweden in particular? And by whom? It seems that the middle of the twelfth century is marked as

³² 'Ibi itaque et munera regia, quae illuc deferre deuerant...'. Rimbert of Hamburg, *Vita Anskarii auctore Rimberto* (1884), 32.

³³ Richard Gameson, *Manuscripts of early Norman England* (1999), 3.

the point at which book production generally began in Scandinavia: the *Necrologium Lundense*, partially copied sometime around 1123, is traditionally cited as the earliest book known to be copied in Sweden.³⁴ Moreover, there are a number of Swedish charters, most monastic, which survive from 1164 on.³⁵ Most of the charters were copied in formal bookhand, though with some cosmetic flourishes drawn from diplomatic script. This is a telling feature, because no evidence for the existence of a royal chancery during the twelfth century has been found: the charters, then, were likely written by clerical scribes trained in the production of books, and who were probably also copying a considerable number of liturgical books for a rapidly expanding number of parishes as best they could, expertly but without the organized facilities of a dedicated scriptorium.³⁶

It is obvious, then, that some ecclesiastical Swedish institutions, monastic or episcopal, or both, could and did produce their own books throughout the twelfth century, even if this effort took on an appearance more like a cottage industry than the major scriptoria in England, France or Germany. It appears that this is actually quite contemporary with the rest of Scandinavia, or Norway at least. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson has made similar arguments to deduce that Latin script was being used in Norway to write in the vernacular as early as the late eleventh century, even though no eleventh-century examples of old Norse written in Latin scripts survive.³⁷ Among the liturgical fragments in Norway, there is a disproportionately high number of twelfth-

³⁴ Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary observations on romanesque manuscripts of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)' (2005), 66. Prior to this Ann-Marie Nilsson, 'Plainchant in Medieval Sweden: Sources and Catalogues' (2004), 177, cited the fragmentary *Missale Scarense*, dating from the twelfth century, as a possibility for the oldest book. Åslaug Ommundsen, *The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture, ca 1050-1300* (2005), 13, notes that for some time in the twentieth century the Vallentuna Missal, dated to c. 1198, was traditionally cited as the oldest example; when that assumption was no longer valid, it was cited as the oldest example from Vallentuna.

³⁵ Inger Larsson, *Svenska medeltidsbrev* (2003), 20-25.

³⁶ Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary Observations on Romanesque Manuscripts of English, Norman and Swedish Origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)' (2005), 64-66. Gullick sees a certain French quality to the hands of the charter scribes, and seems to associate them with the Cistercian monastic houses, which I am willing to accept, not having seen the charters in person. However, the possibility of cathedrals copying their own books should not be dismissed either.

³⁷ Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Caroline and proto-Gothic script in Norway and Iceland' (2013), 199-200.

century fragments in particular, and it has been argued that these fragments were produced as a direct result of the establishment of the diocese of Nidaros, when the need for producing and acquiring new books would have been at its highest.³⁸

However, the Norwegian fragments also have a larger number of eleventh-century examples compared to the other Scandinavian countries, and because of this recent arguments have pushed the beginnings of Norwegian scribal culture back to the eleventh century proper, whereas even the more liberal arguments for Swedish book production have only gone back as far as the second quarter of the twelfth century. The eleventh-century fragments in Norway exhibit strong English characteristics in script and often liturgy, just as the Swedish fragments do; however, there is generally greater sympathy for treating them as Scandinavian. One of the more famous of these, Mi 14, Susan Rankin has convincingly shown to be of Winchester use—she also generally extends a blanket attribution of English origin to all of the eleventh-century fragments in Scandinavia known to use English scripts—but at the same time she admits that there is always a possibility that the books were copied in Scandinavia by English scribes, or even by local scribes trained in (or imitating) insular practice.³⁹ The same willingness to concede traditionally 'English' sources to Scandinavia has not occurred for the eleventh- or twelfth-century fragments in Swedish archives.⁴⁰ This could, of course, simply be a matter of the historiographical chronology. Studies on the 'English' fragments in Sweden have dropped off after a flurry of publications between 2000 and 2009, while the work in Norway continues to push forward.⁴¹ This particular study, however, is

³⁸ Espen Karlsen, 'The collection of Latin fragments in the National Archives of Norway' (2005), 20-21.

³⁹ Susan Rankin, 'Fragments of a missal from the Old Minster, Winchester (Oslo, Riksarkivet Mi 14)' (2013), 67-68 and 73. The PhD research of Matilda Watson has also recently made similar connections between England and Norway through pre-twelfth-century sources. See Matilda Watson, 'Connections between Manuscript Cultures in England, Norway and Sweden, 1000-1100' (2013).

⁴⁰ Questions concerning our ability to attribute a given fragment in the MPO as an English or a Swedish product are discussed throughout Chapter 2.

⁴¹ The foundational collection of essays of the Norwegian fragments, Espen Karlsen, ed., *Latin manuscripts in medieval Norway: Studies in memory of Lilli Gjøløw* (2013), was published nearly a decade after—and is nearly twice as large as—its companion volume on the Swedish fragments, Jan Brunius, ed., *Medieval book fragments in Sweden* (2005). Several of the contributors participated in both volumes, and the latter book can in many ways be seen as a methodological update to the study of Scandinavian fragments in general.

largely interested in the twelfth-century sources in Sweden, and so the question of where its eleventh-century fragments may have been copied will have to wait until a future study.

1.3 The recycling of medieval manuscripts in early modern Sweden

After the Swedish War of Liberation from Denmark in 1523, Gustav Vasa was elected to the Swedish throne and began the Vasa dynasty as King Gustav I. Among his first acts as monarch was to establish an internal administrative network within Sweden which could be controlled centrally through the court in Stockholm—this step included redistributing the management of provincial lands from hereditary and traditional administrators to a body of appointed bailiffs. These bailiffs would serve a short period of tenure as administrators of a given district—never more than a few years—and were obliged to report directly to the central court.⁴² During his appointment a bailiff would be tasked with collecting rents and maintaining expenses within his district, which were recorded in a book of accounts for the fiscal year. The accounts and monetary revenue for the year were then brought to Stockholm and audited at the King's Chamber. This system remained in place with relatively few variations until 1630, when Gustav II replaced it with a regionalized system of government.⁴³

⁴² The foundational study of the establishment of provincial bailiffs during the rule of the House of Vasa is Johan Axel Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige, 1523-1630* (1917). Jan Brunius has more recently provided further studies on the subject, through a survey of the archival records kept by the bailiffs: Jan Brunius, *Vasatidens samhälle* (2010). He has also written two brief surveys in English that focus on the role of the bailiffs in the survival of Sweden's medieval manuscript fragments: Jan Brunius, 'Medieval manuscript fragments in the National Archives' (2005), 9-17; and Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 13-33. At the time of writing there is a doctoral dissertation underway in English, by Seppo Eskola, on the bailiffs of Swedish Finland and their archival practices in relation to how the medieval fragments were preserved. Its current title is: Seppo Eskola, 'The Making of the Bailiffs' Records: Cameral Bookkeeping in the Duchy of Finland, 1556–1563' (forthcoming). Aside from Jan Brunius' summaries in volumes on the medieval fragments, there are currently no comprehensive studies of the bailiff system itself in English.

⁴³ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 22. What I have given below is a rather simplistic account of the history of the bailiffs and how they handled their accounts. I have only described the basic features relevant to this particular study, and if any anomalies or alterations of this history are described elsewhere in this dissertation it

It was both during and because of this institution of provincial bailiffs that the sources of this project came to be in their present state. As Gustav I was instituting these organizational changes in Sweden, he was also overseeing the centralization of a reformed Swedish church, aided greatly by a royally endorsed Lutheran reform movement. Initially this focused on silver owned by the church, which was audited and taxed, and soon confiscated as well, but after a time the process expanded to involve the confiscation and redistribution of church property generally. By 1540 there was a proscription against Latin-language mass, and all mendicant houses in Sweden had been abolished; further decrees prohibiting the use of incense, delegating pilgrimages and banning the observance of certain votive masses were also issued shortly after.⁴⁴

The combination of these religious and state reforms provided a unique opportunity for the provincial bailiffs to use obsolete books from church libraries and altars. The large number of local accounts which had to be wrapped and bound necessitated a large supply of vellum binding sheets, which were expensive to produce. By confiscating outdated parochial and monastic books from within their province, the bailiff could separate leaves from these manuscripts as needed. This proved to be a universally successful method across Sweden: the earliest surviving tax documents wrapped in medieval manuscript fragments were compiled in 1527, and access to free parchment from these medieval books did not finally begin to dwindle until a century later in the 1620s; throughout this century of use, virtually every single provincial account book still extant was bound by fragments from an obsolete church manuscript—or, in a few cases, a vellum incunabulum of liturgical rites—which could

will be solely for the sake of contextualizing the histories of a particular medieval fragment. For instance, not all of the fragments attached to 'Småland accounts' from 1557-63 are necessarily related: in those years a semi-independent duchy based around the town of Kalmar existed in the south of Småland, ruled by Gustav I's sons. However, they typically inherited the same system of provincial bailiffs who were answerable to the ducal court, and when their administrations were recentralized many of the previous accounts were also relocated to the King's Chamber in Stockholm and generally given subheadings that identify them apart from the rest of the Småland accounts.

⁴⁴ Further summaries of the historical context surrounding Gustav I, the Reformation in Sweden and the wars of independence in Scandinavia can be found in Felix Heinzer, 'Cutting the tradition: Changing attitudes towards liturgy' (2005), 18-26, and Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 21-24. Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010) provides his citation from Mats Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket* (2001), 175-83.

range in date of production from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ Even after the government reforms instituted by Gustav II that moved away from the centralized system of provincial bailiffs, medieval fragments continued to be used to wrap government accounts even as late as 1679—though not exclusively, as by this time the binders had to make use of newly made, clean parchment as well.⁴⁶ That there would be such a common interest in using these manuscripts over such a long period of time raises several questions.

Jan Brunius' recent work has formed the foundational studies on the archival material and methods of the Swedish bailiffs, and as former head archivist of the bailiff records and organizer of the *Medeltida Pergamentomslag* project, his research is the first to offer a serious consideration of the relationships between the medieval fragments and the accounts they wrap.⁴⁷ He has found no instance of an official decree ordering the destruction, preservation or recycling of obsolete Catholic service books in Sweden during the century after Gustav I's ascendancy, and yet the comparative orderliness with which the Swedish bailiffs maintained and recycled the books throughout that century is well beyond the handling of such books in other reformed countries. Brunius draws on comparisons to England and Denmark in particular, both with formidable links to Sweden both before and during this period: in Denmark, Catholic service books were ordered to be discarded in 1546; four years later, a similar decree was issued in England, further specifying that they should be rendered unusable and handed in to the state; much later in Denmark they were again confiscated, this time to be used as fuel for a firework display.⁴⁸ Brunius tentatively suggests that the unique handling of unused

⁴⁵ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 26-27.

⁴⁶ Currently, the latest evidence of using old liturgical fragments to wrap government accounts is Fr 28671, a fragment of a printed missal which was used to wrap the Skara registers for 1675-79. At the other end of the temporal spectrum is Fr 10838, a fifteenth-century non-liturgical text of uncertain genre and origin, which was used to bind accounts of the royal court in 1525. The earliest identifiable case of a medieval fragment being used to wrap the annual accounts of a specific province is Fr 26643, a missal used to bind accounts of the town of Växjö in 1529. There are several other fragments in the MPO between 1525 and 1529, but none of these come from provincial bailiff records.

⁴⁷ The *Medeltida Pergamentomslag* (MPO) and its relevance to this dissertation are discussed further down, in sections 1.4 through 1.7.

⁴⁸ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 24. For England, see also Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars* (1992), 469.

service books in Sweden was specifically due to the institution of the bailiffs and the requirements necessitated by their archival policies.

This is certainly a viable explanation, but it does draw attention to the perplexing lack of contemporary evidence. The medieval fragments seem to have been systematically preserved specifically so that they could be mutilated and recycled as wrappers, but there is no contemporary mention of this practice. There is, however, documentation throughout the period for the supply of paper and ink, which would have been the other two main logistical requirements for allowing the bailiffs to produce their records; in fact, the first mention of parchment for binding comes from payment records in Stockholm in the 1620s, showing that the local supply of free books had begun to run dry.⁴⁹ The closest thing to direct documentary evidence for the practice of recycling manuscripts that Brunius can give is in the records of the monasteries and churches which owned those books, and from these descriptions it appears that there was no prescribed way of handling the books at all. Several bailiffs would apparently send men to the local parish church to cut out single leaves from unused books as they were needed, while the appearance of folios from some manuscripts in accounts from several places within a region, or even from all over Sweden, suggests that at least some bailiffs also held a central store of confiscated books which they could use. This is especially the case for fragments from non-liturgical books, which often come down to us as binding for accounts from Stockholm; it is from these that both Brunius and Felix Heinzer suggest that there must have been a central store of medieval manuscripts at the palace in Stockholm, probably taken from the monastic libraries during their dissolution in the 1540s.⁵⁰ This can be seen in the seven known fragments from Codex 708, a collection of writings by Hugh of Saint-Cher, where three of its folio fragments were used to bind the provincial accounts of Småland in 1541, while two others were used to bind local accounts in Stockholm in 1540-41, and a final fragment was bound to the industrial reports from the mining town of Sala at the eastern edge of the province of Västmanland.⁵¹ From this information, there are strong grounds to suggest that the

⁴⁹ *Idem*, 23-33, esp. 24-27.

⁵⁰ Jan Brunius, 'Medieval manuscript fragments in the National Archives: A survey' (2005), 12-16; Felix Heinzer, 'Cutting the tradition: Changing attitudes towards liturgy' (2005), 21.

⁵¹ Codex 708 consists of MPO, Fr 5243 (Småland, 1541), Fr 5246 (Småland, 1541), Fr

manuscript was being held centrally at Stockholm in the royal court, regardless of whatever provincial records it may have been used to wrap. Another archetypal example is Codex 1095, a copy of the *Marialis* of Jacobus de Voragine, where each of its five known folio fragments were used to bind accounts not only from the royal chamber, but also of local fief registers and of the taxes for the province of Dalsland.⁵² However, unlike Codex 708, the fragments from Codex 1095 were used across several years, between 1564 and 1576. Furthermore, the one fragment attached to a provincial (Fr 2227, Dalsland accounts) was the only fragment used in 1564, while the various Stockholm accounts were not made until 1566. The manuscript could have been stored at the court as well, or it may have once rested in Dalsland, only to be relocated to Stockholm after it had begun to be used for wrapping in 1564.

The best approach when using the accounting records is one of caution, since ultimately there was no predetermined method to which a bailiff was held accountable when preparing his books. He could take his accounts to Stockholm and have them bound with local parchment upon arrival. Or, perhaps more often, it seems, as will be shown in Chapter 2, he could have had them bound locally and then sent to Stockholm. Further still, he could have sent them unbound but with his own binding parchment already provided—either as a single bifolio fragment, or even a whole gathering or book—where the volumes then bound with the provided material after the auditing process. These possible variations in method are why Brunius has cautioned against placing too much emphasis on the relationship between a medieval fragment and the post-medieval accounts it binds, unless there is some other justifiable evidence which can corroborate the association: for example, if there were a wide correlation between a certain type of fragment and a specific set of accounts—such as those which overwhelmingly use a specific palaeographical feature where other accounts do not—or if there is the presence of a localizing feature such as a local Swedish saint which agrees with the account's geographical origin as well.⁵³

5248 (Småland, 1541), Fr 7729, Fr 7730 ('Varahus och handling', 1541), Fr 9291 ('Röda nummer', 1540) and Fr 9829 (mining records for the town of Sala, 1541).

⁵² Codex 1095 consists of Fr 2227 (Dalsland accounts, 1564), Fr 7922 ('Probianträkensaker', 1566), Fr 9085 ('Förläningsregister', 1569-70), Fr 9100 ('Förläningsregister', 1576) and Fr 9177 ('Kammarens restantieräkenskaper', 1570).

⁵³ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 30-33.

1.4 The modern history of the medieval fragments

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the fragments that wrapped the bailiff accounts and records of Vasa Sweden were largely ignored. The first academic, or even curatorial, interest on the fragments was from Gustaf Klemming, who was at the time head of the Royal Library in Stockholm. Klemming's main concerns were in locating fragments which preserved examples of Old Swedish, as well as pages from liturgical incunabula of the late fifteenth century. After combing through the bailiff accounts for as many incunabula fragments as he could find, Klemming was able to reconstruct considerable portions of seven different printed liturgical books from various dioceses in Sweden, some in several copies, all printed between 1484 and 1496. His reconstructions include copies of the missal for Åbo, the missal and breviary for Strängnäs, the Västerås gradual and the Linköping breviary, as well as the breviary and first edition missal for Uppsala.⁵⁴ Much like the early efforts of the Henry Bradshaw Society in London, Klemming's purpose was both historical and practical: to support the liturgical philosophies of the Church of Sweden with a historical precedent, and to better inform the celebration of its Protestant liturgy through an understanding of Sweden's liturgical past. To that end, in 1879 he published his seven reconstructions together with post-Reformation materials to complete and contextualize them.⁵⁵

It was later, when Klemming's successor Isak Collijn took interest in the fragments, that the medieval Latin manuscripts preserved alongside the bailiff accounts finally began to be taken seriously as objects of study. Even though Collijn inherited his predecessor's primary concerns—that is, the identification and study of incunabula and fragments with early examples of the Swedish language—he was nevertheless commissioned to make a preliminary inventory of the entire collection of fragments

⁵⁴ *Missale Aboense* (Lübeck: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1488); *Breviarium Strengnense* (Stockholm: Johann Fabri, 1495); *Missale Strengnense* (Stockholm: Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1487); *Graduale Arosiense* (Lübeck: Anonymous printer, 1493); *Breviarium Lincopense* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1493); *Breviarium Upsalense* (Stockholm: Johann Fabri, 1496); *Missale Upsalense Vetus* (Stockholm: Johann Snell, 1484). For a discussion of the printing attributions of these sources, of which not all are immediately clear in the editions themselves, see Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, vol. 1 (1927), and descriptions summarized in Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers: Medieval book fragments in the Swedish National Archives* (2013), 147-49.

⁵⁵ Gustaf Edvard Klemming, *Sveriges äldre liturgiska litteratur* (1879).

held in the various state archives. He spent two years making brief surveys of selected portions of the material and published his initial findings in 1914.⁵⁶ The inventory he made is of little practical use to scholars now, since Collijn's time constraints necessitated only a cursory coverage of the material, and even then his assessments were largely coloured by his own interests; nevertheless, his report demonstrated that there were medieval fragments in the archives well worth investigating.⁵⁷ The project was quite successful: by the time Toni Schmid was commissioned to undertake a full inventory and catalogue of medieval fragments in state possession in 1927, Collijn had already led an assessment of medieval sources housed in other libraries and archives throughout Sweden, demonstrating the growing national interest in the literary remains of Sweden's medieval libraries and churches.⁵⁸

The *Pergamentundersökningen*, or 'Parchment study project', was the project entrusted to Toni Schmid, and it had as its main purpose to catalogue every medieval fragment in state archives. At the project's outset many of the fragments were still scattered between several state and private institutions—with the largest collections held at the Royal Library, the Royal Academy and the National Archives—but by its end the vast majority of fragments which had been connected to the old bailiff accounts were relocated centrally to the National Archives (Riksarkivet), where they were aggregated into a single archival unit for the first time. The project continued between 1930 and 1985, and during that time Schmid, and later her assistant and successor Oloph Odenius, managed to catalogue some eleven thousand medieval fragments to various degrees of detail. The card catalogue they produced was called the *Catalogus Codicum Mutilorum* (CCM), and their focus was on the reconstruction of manuscripts rather than the detailed cataloguing of individual fragments. As such, fragments which had been aggregated into a single manuscript were given a single siglum, such as Mi 1, or 'Missal 1', the partially reconstructed eleventh-century missal that perhaps remains the most famous and closely studied manuscript fragment preserved through the Swedish bailiff

⁵⁶ Isak Collijn, *Redogörelse för på uppdrag af Kungl. Maj:t i Kammararkivet och Riksarkivet verkställd undersökning angående äldre arkivalieomslag* (1914).

⁵⁷ For historiographical purposes, the MPO database lists locations within Collijn's inventory where they exist for a given fragment.

⁵⁸ Isak Collijn *et al.*, *Linköping, Skara, Strängnäs, Västerås, Växjö* (1924).

accounts.⁵⁹ Any fragments which could not be paired into larger manuscripts were given less detailed descriptions in the CCM: for example, the single antiphoner fragment Ant 117 merely contains the description ‘*Temp. passionis*’ for its contents.⁶⁰ Furthermore, while her interests in the material were certainly more varied than Isak Collijn’s, Toni Schmid was nevertheless predisposed toward cataloguing material in her own subject areas, meaning that the highest quality descriptions in the CCM tend to be dominated by law manuscripts and service books for the mass.

Schmid's prioritization of the mass over the office can be seen in the clear separation between the methodologies used to prepare descriptions for mass books and office books in the CCM. The MPO database lists 945 missals in its catalogue which have a corresponding CCM siglum, with a total of 2,531 fragments being used to reconstruct those missals; in other words, during the cataloguing of the CCM the average missal fragment was often paired with at least one other fragment from the same manuscript, so that the number of separate manuscripts was far lower than the number of fragments used to reconstruct them. For breviaries, however, the MPO lists 3,677 fragments associated with the CCM card catalogue, but with as many as 2,329 separate manuscripts. Very few of the breviary fragments were used to reconstruct manuscripts, so that the number of medieval breviaries in Sweden looks much higher than the number of missals. When looking at the CCM card catalogue, it can be seen that the majority of these breviary fragments were catalogued not by Toni Schmid, but rather by Oloph Odenius, who replaced Schmid as the project coordinator after her retirement in 1968. Odenius himself was more interested in non-liturgical religious studies, and clearly did not spend as much time attempting to reconstruct breviaries as

⁵⁹ MPO, Fr 25905 through Fr 25922. Not all of the leaves from Mi 1 were preserved in the bailiff accounts. There are other leaves in Gothenburg, Jönköping and Lund in Sweden, and Oslo in Norway. There has been a great deal of discussion on the origins of Mi 1 since its rediscovery by Isak Collijn, and the consensus on English production, while assumed by most, is not so certain as not to produce its share of detractors. For a full historiography, and for the sigla of its leaves not in the MPO, see Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 51, 58-59 and 164, esp. 58, n. 93-95. The most recent arguments and descriptions regarding its English origin can be found in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts* (2001), no. 936; Michael Lapidge, *The cult of St. Swithun* (2003), 75-80; and K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1200 containing music* (2006), no. 340.

⁶⁰ MPO, Fr 20297.

Schmid had with missals. Because of this bias in the CCM, the office fragments in Sweden have remained strikingly understudied in comparison to their mass counterparts.⁶¹

Many, but not all, of these limitations have since been addressed through the more recent *Medeltida Pergamentomslag* (MPO) project. The MPO project was organized in 1993 by Jan Brunius after he became archivist for the bailiff accounts, and the cataloguing team was expanded beyond himself to include Gunilla Björkvall from Stockholm University and Anna Wolodarski from the Royal Library. Thus the project consisted of three researchers of various expertises—an archivist, a latinist and a manuscript historian and codicologist, respectively—and with different research interests, ranging from post-medieval Swedish history to liturgical studies and Latin book culture, allowing for a more complete appreciation of the fragments and their contents. The decision to staff the project in this manner reflects a great shift in the status of the Swedish fragments in the eyes of medieval scholarship. During the time of the CCM, the project was primarily a solitary effort (or, at most, a two-person effort between Toni Schmid and Oloph Odenius), and the scholarship produced during that time was also primarily driven by the cataloguers themselves, according to their own research interests. The only true exceptions were those fragments which were the eleventh-century fragments such as Mi 1, likely because they were clearly of the greatest antiquity. A number of these fragments bore a strong resemblance to English manuscripts from the eleventh century, and so caught the attention of Anglo-Saxon and early Norman scholars, and were taken up in various studies comparatively early on. In large part these studies were taken up through a common desire to build upon the spotty corpus of Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscripts by re-appropriating manuscripts from elsewhere that bore English markers as authentic domestic exports.⁶² While the possibility of discovering more English fragments is still an enticing aspect of research into the MPO fragments, the project has also cultivated, at least among researchers

⁶¹ During the later MPO project (1993-2003), the time constraints for cataloguing the rest of the c. 12,000 fragments in the archives necessitated that the cataloguers borrow Schmid's and Odenius' catalogue descriptions verbatim and unchanged, and so the comparative depth of research put into mass books remains far greater than office books, even when adding the research for the MPO catalogue to the CCM.

⁶² This is discussed in section 1.7.

whose primary interests lie outside of medieval England, a growing appreciation for the richness and variety of clearly non-English fragments, as well as for the sheer bulk of fragments from office books, as shown by the number of outside scholars who have since worked on the fragments in other respects.⁶³

Finally, based on the success of the MPO, another cataloguing project, *Fragmenta membranea* (FM), was conducted in Finland in 2008 and 2010. In the middle of the nineteenth century many of the bailiff accounts for the Finnish provinces were relocated to Turku, and later to the National Archives in Helsinki when it was opened. More than ten thousand medieval fragments were preserved on these wrappers, though unfortunately, they were all removed from their accounts in the nineteenth century, as well. Research into the Finnish portion of the Vasa bailiff fragments perhaps began even before those in Sweden, when Edward Grönblad began removing fragments from their account books to study them in the 1840s, though he produced no catalogues. Later, the musicologist Toivo Haapanen began cataloguing the Finnish fragments at the same time as Isak Collijn.⁶⁴ Over the decades several specialist researchers have made

⁶³ Since the advent of the MPO project several other English-like fragments from the eleventh or early twelfth centuries have been discovered or more deeply examined, which has helped keep this area of scholarship in the foreground due to the invested interests of scholars of early English liturgy. Fr 2070-71, Mi 4 (Fr 25961-77), Mi 134 (Fr 25921 + 26449-51), and Fr 2427 + 2497 have been taken up in K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1200 containing music*, nos. 342, 346, 354-55, and in K. D. Hartzell, 'Some early English liturgical fragments in Sweden' (2005), 82-98. These and Fr 11511 are discussed in Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary observations on romanesque manuscripts of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)' (2005), 31-82. Still, these studies have come primarily from scholars who are in themselves unconnected to the MPO. Much of Jan Brunius' scholarship focuses on the post-medieval histories of the fragments and issues of origin and provenance; Gunilla Björkvall works on sequences in the fragments: see Gunilla Björkvall, 'Sequences in the fragments at the Swedish National Archives' (2006), 45-61, and Gunilla Björkvall, *The liturgical sequences in the fragments at the Swedish National Archives* (forthcoming); Anna Wolodarski has worked on book culture and libraries, in Anna Wolodarski, 'De svenska medeltida bokägarna speglade i fragmentsamlingen' (2004), 168-75, and 'The Vadstena Library. Making New Discoveries' (forthcoming). Another branch of scholarship on the Swedish fragments has recently opened to include the German contributions, both as imports and as an influence to local liturgy; for a summary and bibliography see Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), esp. 54-75 and 202-260.

⁶⁴ The culmination of his efforts can be seen in Toivo Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors*,

inventories of different manuscript genres in the collection, most notably Ilkka Taitto, who added to Haapanen's series of catalogues with a volume on antiphers in 2001.⁶⁵ In 2008, Tuomas Heikkilä was given funding to construct a digital catalogue to match the MPO, and now very high quality images of more than 90% of the fragments in the Finnish collection are available online.⁶⁶

1.5 Methodologies in using the fragments

There are certainly many pitfalls when working with fragmentary manuscripts. One cannot truly check any fragment for liturgical matches with other sources, because an entire manuscript would be needed to do so; at best, the specific contents of a single folio may be shown to match those of another manuscript, but that is all that can be said. The full manuscripts that have survived from the Middle Ages have done so in such a haphazard variety of ways, and in such comparatively poor numbers, that even when given the luxury of studying an entire manuscript any arguments of origin, production or use are usually tentative at best, and so handling manuscripts for which only a single folio or even ten may survive becomes consequently less stable; for this reason, Andreas Haug has treated the music fragments in Sweden with a skeptical eye, rather poetically referring to them as 'fragments of fragments', as the manuscripts they represent are themselves only fragmentary remains of the wealth of books that once existed.⁶⁷ Without going into any specifics regarding the fragments in Sweden themselves, Haug has claimed that the music evidence in the fragments is remarkably conventional, comprised primarily of standard Gregorian material found in most universal liturgies. What does change from fragment to fragment are the scribal practices, and Haug interpreted this to mean that in Sweden the musical liturgy

3 volumes (1922-32). These three volumes cover missals, graduals and mass lectionaries, and breviaries.

⁶⁵ Ilkka Taitto, *Catalogue of medieval manuscript fragments in the Helsinki university library. Fragmenta membranea IV: Antiphonaria*, 2 volumes (2001).

⁶⁶ Tuomas Heikkilä, 'History of the collection', *Fragmenta membranea* (<http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/esittely/>, accessed 12 July 2016). The website provides a much more extensive history on the cataloguing of the fragments, with an extensive bibliography.

⁶⁷ Andreas Haug, 'Überreste von Überresten. Fragmente mittelalterlicher Handschriften als musikgeschichtliche Quellen' (2005), 27-30.

presumably followed an international style, and the purpose for updating and replacing service books was not because of changing material, but because of changing scribal methods and notational practices.⁶⁸

Still, despite these very practical reservations, the fragments in the Swedish bailiff accounts offer many opportunities for fruitful study, and they occupy a unique place in the realm of medieval primary sources for multiple reasons. The sources of medieval Sweden are almost entirely fragmentary due to the state-sponsored practices of systematic mutilation that have already been described above. Norway and Denmark had also participated in similar Reformation movements with royal support, and as a result they have also inherited their medieval manuscripts largely as mutilations and fragments, but the systematic extent to which such manuscripts were cut and preserved is unique to the Swedish royal bailiffs. By numbers, the fragments in Sweden and Finland are about twice as many as those from Norway and Denmark: at the National Archives in Oslo there are c. 6,000 fragments, of which only about a thousand have been catalogued as part of a 2010 project funded by the University of Bergen;⁶⁹ in Denmark there are c. 11,500 fragments scattered throughout various archives and libraries, but this number is very tentative as most of the fragments actually have yet to be examined.⁷⁰ This total of c. 17,500 fragments can thus be compared to the 10,345

⁶⁸ *Idem*, 29-30. However, as shown in Chapter 3, it is not uncommon for many variations to occur across fragments containing the same liturgy. Updates to scribal practice certainly must have been an issue, but much more detailed comparative studies on a wide range of texts and chants will have to be conducted before any reliable statements about the 'international style' of Swedish sources can be made.

⁶⁹ The *From manuscript fragments to book history* database (http://www.uib.no/en/rg/manuscript_fragments, accessed 12 July 2016). The project, led by Åslaug Ommundsen, currently only covers a small portion of the total material in Norway, but even now it is much more ambitious than the previous project to create a database of fragments at the University of Bergen led by Rune Kyrkjebø, *Digital fragment collection: Medieval parchment fragments in Bergen University Library and the Regional State Archives in Bergen* (<http://www.ub.uib.no/fragment/list/index.html>, accessed 12 July 2016).

⁷⁰ The only digitization and cataloguing project for fragments in Denmark is Erik Petersen, *Fragmenta Latina Hauniensia* (http://www.kb.dk/en/nb/materialer/haandskrifter/HA/e-mss/flh_intro.html, accessed 12 July, 2016), which covers a selection of the fragments kept in Copenhagen. It is limited to fifty-five fragments from the Royal Library, chosen for their theological content rather than their Nordic heritage. Only eight of the fragments are listed with a Scandinavian origin, and there are only two liturgical sources included: Copenhagen,

fragments in Finland alone, all of which have been catalogued to some degree by Toivo Haapanen and Ilkka Taitto, and 9,319 of which are digitized and featured on the FM online database.⁷¹ Adding to this more than 22,900 fragments from Swedish and Finnish accounts catalogued in the MPO, the Swedish-Finnish material alone represents some two-thirds of the total number of medieval fragments in Scandinavia.

Not only did the bailiffs' practices have direct bearing on the large numbers of fragments to survive in Sweden and Finland in comparatively good condition, but they have also allowed the fragments to survive with an unusual amount of localizing evidence from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even if this evidence is not necessarily apparent at first glance. Many of the fragments now in Stockholm are still bound to their account books, and in these cases the archival information on a particular account book can help to estimate whether the manuscript was being held in Stockholm in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, or whether it was held locally within a specific province, or even within a specific section of a province. This must be handled with a healthy respect for the unknowable, of course, since it is clear that not all of the bailiffs maintained the same methods of binding throughout the one and a half centuries of the system's continued practice.⁷² Still, with continued research into the practices and habits of individual bailiffs, it remains entirely possible that meaningful connections between some of the fragments and their uses in the cameral accounts will be revealed in the future.

Unfortunately, not all fragments—including all of those now in Finland—are still connected to their account books, making it at times difficult or impossible to determine their original archival contexts. Edward Grönblad, Gustaf Klemming and Isak Collijn were each perfectly happy to separate interesting fragments from their accounts and relocate them to their own libraries when they studied the fragments.⁷³

Still, in many cases most or all of the folio fragments of a particular parent manuscript will be located in the accounts of a single province, and it is also possible to see similarities in content or scribal methods across fragments from a given century within a particular province; a search for fragments with gothic or Hufnagel notation,

Konglige Bibliotek, Add. 47 2°, a thirteenth-century antiphoner from Nidaros, and Copenhagen, Konglige Bibliotek, NKS 3539 4°, a fifteenth-century Danish breviary.

⁷¹ Cf. page 36.

⁷² Cf. page 29.

⁷³ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 54.

for example, displays a number of results from provincial accounts for Latvia and Estonia. The manuscript Mi 1 has fragments attached to accounts in Jönköping, Värmland and Växjö, as well as fragments which are not connected to the bailiff accounts, found variously in Jönköping, Gothenburg, Lund and even Oslo; however, ten of the twenty-four surviving leaves come exclusively from Värmland accounts. The Värmland accounts attached to the Mi 1 fragments were all made between 1582 and 1587, and in 1587 another fragment was attached to an account from Jönköping, a town in northern Småland. The earliest account book with an Mi 1 fragment wrapper was in the 1505 accounts from Växjö, the cathedral town of Småland, quite some time before the systematic institution of provincial bailiffs. What can be gleaned from this evidence is that most or all of Mi 1 was in Värmland in the 1580s, but it could very likely have been brought there from Småland, possibly Växjö cathedral or one of the parishes surrounding the town. However, even if this could be demonstrated to be the most likely solution to the puzzle, knowing why the book moved, and under what conditions it did so, will likely remain a mystery.

The third key feature of the fragments is again a happy consequence of how the bailiffs prepared their records. Because the bailiff system and the standard method for preparing the account books remained more or less undisturbed for over a century, the local bailiffs required a constant and long-lasting supply of parchment to wrap their records. Since the books of both major and minor church buildings had already been confiscated or otherwise claimed by the state, and because the bailiffs were understandably more interested in the size rather than the origins of the manuscript they mutilated, the fragments represent a rather enlightening random sampling of the quarto-sized and folio-sized books that existed in Swedish churches and monasteries at the time. For example, a very large portion of the fragments represent parochial service books, a common type of liturgical book that nevertheless is now underrepresented among primary sources in other parts of Europe, where the surviving service books are more likely to have come from more grand establishments such as a cathedral or monastery.

Out of the total number of fragments in the MPO database, 17,175 are from liturgical manuscripts (75% of the total). Of these, the greatest number are fragments from missals and breviaries, numbering 6,445 and 5,096, respectively. The second largest genre groups are the gradual and antiphoner fragments, which number 1,365 and

2,245; then lectionary, psalter and sequentiary fragments, numbering 854, 437 and 410; other genres (hymnaries, rituals, hours, etc.) comprise the remaining 329 fragments. Therefore, roughly 28% of the fragments in the entire MPO specifically come from missal manuscripts, which would have been the primary vehicle for the celebration of the liturgy in the parish. Furthermore, perhaps because of the preponderance of fragments which came from quarto-format books and larger, most of the MPO fragments also contain musical liturgy; roughly 72% in fact, with about a quarter of those coming from book genres wholly devoted to musical content, such as antiphoners or hymnals. These fragments do not always have music notation in them, but the majority do, even in later centuries where hybrid genres like breviaries and missals are typically found without.

There are no fewer than 11,278 fragments listed in the database as having some sort of musical notation. These are more skewed to the earlier and later centuries, with a significant drop in notated fragments (and in fragments generally) from the fourteenth century. Table 1 breaks down the total number of fragments in the MPO by century, into how many of each liturgical genre there are listed as having music.⁷⁴ Table 2 shows the proportional changes in numbers of music fragments from century to century. Aside from the sharp decline in manuscripts from the fourteenth century and the low percentage of fourteenth-century manuscripts which carry notation, it is telling that the basic liturgical fragments from the other centuries seem to carry notation consistently between 70% and 80% of the time, with the single exception of thirteenth-century fragments which are notated 89% of the time. The high number of musical sources among thirteenth-century fragments is because of a drastic proportional increase in

⁷⁴ The table only covers the basic genres of missal, breviary, antiphoner and gradual, from the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. Sixteenth-century sources are not considered here because their contents and distribution fall outside the purview of this study. Sequentiaries are not included because they are very rarely found older than the fourteenth century. However, they generally follow the same observations and formats found in the other sources. For example, Gunilla Björkvall confirmed at least 243 sequentiary fragments in the MPO, which necessarily would have to be quarto-format or larger; in comparison, Åslaug Ommundsen studied 69 sequences sources in Norway and found over two-thirds of them to be split nearly evenly between octavo-format (22) and quarto-format (27), with only 10 folio-format fragments identified. See Gunilla Björkvall, 'Sequences in the fragments at the Swedish National Archives' (2006), 47, and Åslaug Ommundsen, 'Books, scribes and sequences in medieval Norway' (2007), 84-86.

Table 1. Number of MPO fragments with music, by century

<u>Century</u>	<u>Mi</u>	<u>Br</u>	<u>Ant</u>	<u>Gr</u>	<u>Total with music</u>	<u>Total in MPO</u>	<u>Percent with music</u>
s. XI	33	13	4	1	51	66	77%
s. XII	886	1556	133	20	2,595	2928	88.6%
s. XIII	1363	2005	366	130	3,864	5490	70%
s. XIV	1010	701	852	334	2,897	4998	58%
s. XV	1854	343	916	700	3,813	5367	71%

Table 2. The increase and decrease in number of fragments with music shown in Table 1

<u>Century</u>	<u>Mi</u>	<u>Br</u>	<u>Ant</u>	<u>Gr</u>	<u>Out of all liturgical fragments</u>
s. XI	—	—	—	—	—
s. XII	× 27	× 120	× 33	× 20	× 44
s. XIII	× 1.5	× 1.3	× 2.75	× 6.5	× 1.9
s. XIV	× 0.74	× 0.35	× 2.3	× 2.6	× 0.9
s. XV	× 1.8	× 0.5	× 1.1	× 2.1	× 1.1

dedicated music books (antiphoners and graduals). These dedicated music books continue to increase in number throughout each century, while compilation books such as missals and breviaries taper off in numbers after the thirteenth century. In the case of missals, the numbers begin to swell again in the fifteenth century, but breviary fragments continue to decline in number after the thirteenth century to only 343 fragments in the final century, the lowest of any century that actually has a large number of total fragments.

These numbers are all taken from loose fragments, and not from manuscripts. The fragments in the MPO are currently assigned into uneven groups that represent some 11,000 separate manuscripts, but this number is almost certainly higher than it should be. As mentioned above, the breviary fragments catalogued in the CCM were mostly done by Oloph Odenius and not Toni Schmid. As his interests lay elsewhere, Odenius was not as meticulous in grouping breviary fragments into manuscripts as Toni Schmid was with missals, and for this reason dealing with manuscript numbers in the MPO is suspect. Jan Brunius estimates 32% of the total number of manuscripts

represented in the MPO to be missals, and 36% breviaries: however, missal fragments only make up roughly 28% of the collection, and breviary fragments 23%.⁷⁵ From these numbers it would seem that breviaries—at least, quarto-format and folio-format breviaries—were somewhat more plentiful than missals in medieval Sweden, but these numbers do not reflect the likelihood that a considerable number of breviary fragments may have shared the same parent manuscript. If the ratio of breviary manuscripts to fragments is assumed to be similar to the same ratio for missals, then an approximate but more likely number of breviary manuscripts in the MPO can be reduced to 25% of the total: still quite a considerable portion, but not so startling as to outweigh the number of standard missals, which presumably would have been a required resource at every consecrated altar in medieval Sweden, whether or not they maintained a thorough observance of the offices as well. On the other hand, it has been observed before that there was a great burgeoning of breviary use in the thirteenth century, and the numbers as they currently are do at least reflect this.⁷⁶

This impression is, of course, by no means complete or even fully accurate. It would be erroneous to treat the MPO database as a wholly veracious representation of the book culture of medieval Sweden. In the first case, the fragments were collected in the sixteenth century, and thus only show which books had survived into that century. Secondly, the types of books which could be used by the bailiffs had to be large so that a bifolio could effectively cover their ledgers. There is little doubt that this would have skewed the types and genres of manuscripts which have survived: for example, it has been noted that the breviary fragments in the MPO mostly come from large ‘choir book’ format breviaries, a comparative rarity elsewhere in Europe, where the smaller ‘chamber’ breviary is by far the more common format. Felix Heinzer has seen this as a consequence of the practical needs of the bailiffs: since the private breviary was the dominant form of the book genre in the Middle Ages, the almost exclusive presence of choir breviaries in the Swedish fragments must be because the bailiffs specially selected

⁷⁵ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 38-39.

⁷⁶ Stephen J. P. van Dijk and Joan Walker, *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy* (1960), 26-44, esp. 36. It should be noted that in this argument the term ‘breviary’ is being defined as an office book that contains both spoken and sung texts, but not necessarily musical notation, which fits the description of fragments identified as breviaries in the MPO.

them for their size, since they needed large bifolio sheets to cover their books.⁷⁷ Jan Brunius has expressed the same reservation, suggesting that the fragments give a false impression that large folio books from genres written in Latin were in fact more numerous than books of other types, when this may not have actually been the case.⁷⁸

Still, Brunius found this negative explanation less than satisfying. With an estimated number of 5,100-8,500 manuscripts which would have been in use throughout medieval Swedish parish churches at the end of the Middle Ages, Brunius argued that the majority of folio-format books in medieval Sweden must have been parish service books; in other words, the genre statistics of the MPO catalogue ought to be reflective of typical Swedish liturgical book culture during those centuries, and the number of breviaries is far too high for them all to have come from monasteries and cathedrals. That they are almost all folio-format, then, suggests that a large number of Swedish parishes had access to precisely this format of breviary.⁷⁹ While Brunius did not speculate on the implications of this, he nevertheless pointed out the disparity between these large Swedish parish breviaries and what seems to have been the continental trend for reserving such large breviaries exclusively for cathedrals and large monasteries. Erik Niblaeus, on the other hand, has since gone further, arguing that the division between book formats prior to the later Middle Ages may not have been quite as distinct; in fact, Niblaeus not only suggests that it is entirely possible that Swedish parish churches regularly used large folio breviaries, but that these books may have been more common in general than would otherwise be suggested by current scholarship.⁸⁰

There is one other problem with taking the statistics of the MPO fragments at face value, which is a problem common to nearly all surviving collections of medieval manuscripts: namely, that there are large gaps in the collection, due to both historical circumstances and geographical limitations. Three fires in 1697, 1802 and 1807

⁷⁷ Felix Heinzer, 'Cutting the tradition: Changing attitudes towards liturgy' (2005), 21.

⁷⁸ Jan Brunius, 'Medieval manuscript fragments in the National Archives: A survey' (2005), 12 and 16, for this and subsequent statements in the next paragraph.

⁷⁹ A summary, still relevant to our current understanding, of the basic role of breviary manuscripts in monastic and cathedral life up to the twelfth century can be found in Stephen J. P. van Dijk and Joan Walker, *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy* (1960), 26-44.

⁸⁰ Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150,' (2010) 205-42, esp. 207-20.

destroyed considerable portions of the bailiff accounts, wars saw the dismemberment of further accounts from the archive, and over the centuries any number of individual accounts may have slipped through the cracks as chambers and archives were relocated and redistributed.⁸¹ The current archival holdings can be compared with inventories from the early seventeenth century, and from these numbers about one third of the original accounts—along with their medieval wrappers—have been lost.⁸² For obvious reasons, these losses cannot be corrected in the statistics.

Further exclusions to the material have occurred because a portion of the fragments no longer rest in Swedish archives. This is often due to manuscript trade in the nineteenth century, where individual fragments or a collection of fragments would be bought, removed from their account books and sent abroad. The most substantial of such collections is the George Stephens Collection at the British Library, which has some 1,700 fragments, many of which have ledger descriptions that clearly show they were stripped from Swedish bailiff records—that is, they have the relevant archival information copied somewhere on the folio, in the form of place, date and name of the bailiff responsible for the account—but none of these fragments are included in the database, and indeed very few of them have been adequately catalogued at the British Library.⁸³ Unfortunately, for many of the Swedish bailiff fragments in the George Stephens Collection the ledger description is too damaged to read, and there may be some fragments which came from the bailiff accounts without our knowing it, since they have no bailiff ledger at all.⁸⁴ As such, important questions of post-medieval provenance for many of the fragments in the George Stephens Collection will likely remain unanswered.

⁸¹ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 34–41; Gunnar Pettersen and Espen Karlsen, 'Katalogisering av latinske membranfragmenter som forskningsprojekt' (2003), 50.

⁸² Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 36.

⁸³ These are currently listed as London, British Library, Ms. Add. 34386–92 n.d., as seven manuscript items. However, each 'manuscript' is actually a collection of fragments grouped roughly by genre. Fragments from service books can be found in Ms. Add. 34388.

⁸⁴ Most of the fragments in the MPO fragments have ledgers, but not always. There are fragments in the FM with no ledgers, though it is impossible to know exactly how many until all 10,345 are counted, since this metadata is not available in the FM. The fragments which lack ledgers would not be identifiable as coming from Swedish bailiff accounts at all if it were not for the fact that the FM fragments were all preserved as a single collection.

However, the single largest exclusion to the MPO statistical data is the absence of any data from the Finnish FM database, which includes over 9,000 fragments from Finnish provincial accounts. There is only one reason why this large section of the material has been excluded from most of the analyses in this dissertation: namely, that the FM was primarily designed to put as many high-quality images of the fragments online in two years, and as a result the database actually provides no metadata. Simply trawling through the thousands of fragments within the FM to provide the same statistical comparisons possible in the MPO would in itself comprise a lengthy and arduous research project.

1.6 A survey of liturgical fragments in the MPO

The fragmentary sources examined in this study are all from the Swedish bailiff accounts. Most come from the MPO collection, though a small number come from the FM. In most cases the fragments have been dated to the twelfth century, by myself or through the MPO catalogue, though a number of outliers might sit on either side of the century by a decade or two. This is in large part because of the generally untidy ways in which palaeographical developments occurred through the 'long' twelfth century, making the general datability of the fragments hazy; as such, there is not much utility in trying to separate fragments identified as 's. xii' from those which are marked 's. xi/xii' or 's. xii/xiii' in the database, as they all are close enough in style and execution to warrant being studied together. However, before these sources from the 'long' twelfth century can be discussed in detail, a basic overview of the liturgical fragments that survive in the MPO from all centuries and across all genres is necessary.

The earliest fragmentary liturgical sources in Sweden are from the eleventh century, currently set at fifty-six manuscripts.⁸⁵ Seven of these have been assigned an English origin in the MPO.⁸⁶ One of these manuscripts, Mi 1, has been of particular interest to scholars since Isak Collijn noticed fragments belonging to it in his 1914

⁸⁵ See Table 3. Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 49-53.

⁸⁶ MPO, Fr 1620 (missal), Fr 2427 (missal), Fr 2497 (missal), Fr 11531 (missal), Codex 322 (Fr 2070-71, missal), Mi 1 (Fr 25905-22, missal) and Mi 134 (26449-51, missal). Fr 10926 also contains aspects of a ritual, and may in fact be a hybrid book.

Table 3. Number of eleventh-century fragments in the MPO

Type	E	G	N	U	Total
Missal	7	4+2?	–	18	31
Breviary	–	1+3?	–	4	8
Gradual	–	–	–	1	1
Antiphoner	–	–	–	4	4
Hymnal	–	1	–	–	1
Lectionary	–	–	–	1	1
Bible	–	3	–	3	6
Gospel	–	1	–	–	1
Calendar	–	–	–	1	1
Theology	–	–	1	1	2

The table lists by origin suggested in the MPO (E: England; G: Germany; N: Normandy; U: Unknown). In the case of entries with two numbers (e.g., 4+2?), the first number indicates fragments for which the attribution is quite strong, whilst the second number indicates fragments for which the attribution is considered likely but uncertain. Sigla for these fragments can be found in Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers: Medieval book fragments in the Swedish National Archives* (2013), 50-53, Table 2.

survey, as mentioned above, and Mi 134 has also been known for some time as well. The rest have been uncovered as part of the MPO project from 1993 to 2005. Much has been made in recent studies of the unexpected amount of English material in the earliest sources in Sweden, and this stands to reason: there are fifty-six fragmentary manuscripts catalogued in the MPO, and only ten or fifteen can be declared to carry demonstrable German palaeographical features in their textual or musical script; this is a number far smaller than might have been expected, considering the administrative monopoly the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen exercised on ecclesiastical activity in Scandinavia. Likewise, despite a lack of direct literary evidence of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman missionary activity in Scandinavia, no fewer than seven manuscript fragments—all missals, a book genre theoretically designed for the observance of public, rather than private, liturgy—show distinct signs of having come from England, or at the very least from English-trained scribes. Brunius and Gullick both highlight these fragments to throw into question the traditional emphasis on the mission from Hamburg-Bremen in Sweden in the eleventh century.⁸⁷ This conclusion was also reached independently by

⁸⁷ Jan Brunius, 'Medieval manuscript fragments in the National Archives: A survey' (2005), 15-16; Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary observations on romanesque manuscripts of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)' (2005), 31-60, *passim*.

Lesley Abrams before the MPO had been completed, by using historical and archaeological sources to suggest that during the eleventh century the spring source of missionary and ecclesiastical activity in Scandinavia had switched from Hamburg-Bremen to England.⁸⁸ Among the eleventh-century sources there is also a single manuscript fragment, Mi 739, which is intriguingly given a Swedish origin; however, there does not seem to be any evidence for this, nor has any reasoning behind the attribution been given, and so I have treated it as simply being of unknown attribution.⁸⁹

However, what is even more interesting is the comparison of English and German sources from the twelfth century, after the Anglo-Saxon missions. Brunius has placed a great deal of emphasis on the English palaeographical features found in fragments from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: fragments with staffed notation which were bound to account books from Swedish provinces overwhelmingly employ square notation in the Anglo-Norman or French style, while the relatively few fragments in the MPO which use German Gothic notation (only 363) mostly come from account books from the Baltic provinces, such as in Latvia and Estonia.⁹⁰

Currently the MPO database lists 174 fragments from the twelfth century which are given a German origin. This can be compared to 217 fragments from the same period with an English origin given (see Table 4). Again, the missals are predominantly English, with 100 compared to 46 with a German attribution, but breviary fragments are more equally distributed, with 80 English fragments to 100 German fragments.

Fragments from dedicated music books are also more common in the English

⁸⁸ Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 213-49, esp. 226-36.

⁸⁹ MPO, Fr 27648. The fragment is from a missal dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, with 'Schweden' given as its origin. This assignment is from the CCM catalogue and so was given by Toni Schmid (the CCM fragments were given MPO numbers from Fr 20000 and up, and their catalogue information was unchanged from the CCM; newly catalogued fragments were numbered Fr 1-19999). However, Schmid gave no reasoning behind this attribution, and there is no internal evidence, such as a local saint or the presence of any runic letterforms, which would otherwise give the indication that it must be from Sweden, or even Scandinavia. In fact, the fragment generally has the appearance of other eleventh-century sources in the MPO with a German attribution; it has been counted here in Table 3 as 'unknown' origin.

⁹⁰ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 57-64. The use of Anglo-French staffed notation is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Lesley Abrams, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia' (1995), 242-43 mentions a series of high-profile English churchmen residing in Sweden during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which would help explain these scribal practices.

Table 4. Twelfth-century fragments in Sweden, compared to those specifically in Småland accounts

Type	E	G	F	(S)	U	Total
Missal	100	46	28	26	703	903
Breviary	80	100	16	3	1362	1561
Gradual	9	–	7	1	13	30
Antiphoner	20	3	4	–	106	133
Sequentiary	–	–	–	–	2	2
Hymnal	–	–	–	–	10	10
Lectionary	6	–	1	1	109	117
Bible	–	25	1	–	60	86
Calendar	2	–	–	9	3	14
Theology	–	–	–	–	2	2
Total	217	174	57	40	2368	2859
...in Småland	51	60	17	4	622	754

fragments, including 9 gradual fragments and 20 antiphoner fragments, when there are only 3 antiphoner fragments listed as German. However, all 25 Bible fragments are listed with German origins. It makes sense that both the missals and graduals would be weighted to the same attribution of origin (English), since they both represent material for the mass and thus their contents are more likely to have been transmitted together. Whether these fragments are actually English or simply display English scribal characteristics, this could indicate a strong English influence on the parochial church liturgies in twelfth-century Sweden.

However, this common pairing of attributions between service books and music books does not extend to the office. Even though the breviary fragments are distributed more or less evenly between the two attributions, the antiphoner fragments are almost all English. For the moment not too much should be made of the disparity between English and German antiphoners, however; at such low numbers it could simply be that more English books survived by mere chance, and the actual numbers would in fact be different if a wider pool of sources had survived.

In total, the 217 fragments with an English attributions are, generally speaking, of slightly later date. All of the German fragments here are squarely given a twelfth-century date, while the MPO dates quite a few of the English sources to the mid-twelfth

to early thirteenth centuries.⁹¹ This could be no more than an editorial bias of the cataloguing process: the dates given in the CCM are at times slightly older than what might be given today, and Toni Schmid may have generally preferred leaning towards earlier dates for her 'German' fragments and later dates for her 'English' fragments, based on the history of Christianity in Sweden as she would have learnt it. However, even taking the separation between 'twelfth-century' and 'late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century' at face value, the date range is still small enough to draw into question the assumption that German ecclesiastical dominance was returned to Scandinavia during the twelfth century. Erik Niblaeus has commented on the growth of German ecclesiastical and liturgical influence in the southern parts of Sweden from 1050-1150, but the fragments from the period after this seem to show considerable English influence, at least until the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁹²

There are other interesting comparisons that can be made between the twelfth-century fragments of German and English attribution, besides just their number. Their distribution across the bailiff accounts, for example, is uneven. Listed on Table 4 are the number of fragments with a specific attribution of origin, with special consideration given to those which also come from account books for the southern province of Småland: thirty-nine manuscripts in the German-assigned fragments, and forty-five in the English.⁹³ Niblaeus considers many of the German fragments that were likely to have been in Småland in the twelfth century.⁹⁴ Based on the case studies given in the next chapter, I am inclined to agree, and even take this statement further: the similar cluster of English manuscripts suggests that they too were already present in the province in the twelfth century. Other possibilities—that a large number of twelfth-century manuscripts in English style had all by coincidence populated the parish churches of rural Småland, either in the later Middle Ages or post-Reformation—seem to me far less likely.

⁹¹ In the terms of the MPO catalogue, the German fragments are given 's. xii' while most of the English fragments are given 's. xii/xiii').

⁹² Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 76-201.

⁹³ The fragments with specific attributions in Småland are discussed in depth in Chapter 2.

⁹⁴ Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 202-60, *passim*.

If we take this to be the most likely case—that an unknown but sizable number of the Småland accounts fragments with English attributions are likely survivors from twelfth-century Småland churches—then we are left with the puzzle of how they came to be there (if they were imported from England), or how they came by their English scribal features (if they were local products). This might be explained through an examination of ecclesiastical foundations during the century: Nydala Abbey was founded as a Cistercian house in 1143, but as a daughter house to Clairvaux; and the only episcopal seat in Småland was Växjö, founded in the 1160s. These dates sit well with the growth in English books in the latter half of the century, and Växjö's unknown affiliation at least provides the possibility for some direct English influence.⁹⁵ In such a rural area, the book trade must have been slow and expensive, and so it is possible that the cathedral might have taken it upon itself to supply service books for its own parishes; if the cathedral or its monastic chapter were in part populated by English or German clergy brought in to help get things running smoothly, then their scribal habits would understandably have gone into the books they made for the diocese.

The role of secular and monastic contexts and their respective book requirements must also be considered. At a glance, the distribution of English and German attributions in twelfth-century fragments in Småland accounts does not show a strict separation between secular and monastic contexts, since both attributions are represented in books containing mass and office liturgy. However, during the twelfth century there were only two known institutions in Småland which would have a precedent for using the monastic liturgy: these were Nydala, the Cistercian daughter house of Clairvaux, and the cathedral chapter at Växjö. Växjö cathedral itself and any local parishes would have followed the secular liturgy. Erik Niblaeus has argued that the breviary fragments in the Småland accounts do in fact reflect this, by demonstrating that they contain liturgy for the secular office rather than the monastic office.⁹⁶

However, if these observations can be used to hypothesize that the fragments in Småland accounts reflect the types of books being used in Småland during the twelfth—that both liturgical genres were celebrated by parochial and diocesan priests, as opposed

⁹⁵ In fact, there is a small but focused collection of French-assigned fragments attached to the Småland accounts, and it would be very interesting to see if these show Cistercian features, or uniform scribal features that would point to an origin at Nydala.

⁹⁶ Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 210-20.

to having the missals used by priests and the breviaries largely used by monks—then the varied mix of German attributions and English attributions across book genres becomes a puzzle. It may reflect that Småland in the twelfth century was controlled neither by English or German clergy in the same way that Cistercian houses like Nydala or Alvastra would have been controlled by their French mother houses. Rather, Småland may have been largely independent of foreign ecclesiastical control, approaching something closer to Abrams' concept of the *laissez-faire*, 'open market' Nordic church of the tenth century.⁹⁷ These issues and their implications are considered in the fragment studies in the next chapter.

1.7 Methodological problems and conclusions

In his early provisional list of pre-twelfth-century manuscripts made or used in England, published in 1981, Helmut Gneuss included fifteen fragments currently held in Scandinavian libraries, which he suggested might have been produced in England then taken to Scandinavia.⁹⁸ As the list of known sources in Scandinavia with plausible English connections increased over the next two decades, it seems that Gneuss became more reserved in his assessment of origin and provenance: by 2001, when the project had culminated in the publication of his *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, Gneuss concluded that most of these sources were either later medieval additions to Scandinavian church libraries or even post-medieval acquisitions by Scandinavian collectors, with the notable exceptions of Mi 1 and a small number of similar sources,

⁹⁷ Cf. page 15.

⁹⁸ Helmut Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100' (1981), 1-60. Included in the fragments are: three gospels, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 10 (2°), Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 135, and Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Mi 1; one mass lectionary, Oslo, Riksarkivet, Lat. fragm. 9 + 201; six missals, Bergen, Universitetsbiblioteket, 1549.5, Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Lat. fragm. 208 + 210, Oslo, Riskarkivet, Lat. fragm. 204 1-4, 9-10, Oslo, Riskarkivet, Lat. fragm. 207-8 + 210, and Oslo, Riskarkivet, Lat. fragm. 228; two antiphoners, Oslo, Riskarkivet, Lat. fragm. 223 1-2, and Oslo, Riskarkivet, Lat. fragm. 226 1-2; and three miscellanies of saints lives and sermons, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, 1588 (4°), Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, 1595 (4°), and Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, 2034 (4°).

which he suggested might have been taken to Scandinavia earlier, by English missionaries or bishops.⁹⁹

Between the publications of Gneuss' two catalogues in 1981 and 2001, David Dumville made similar assessments regarding two Scandinavian fragments, Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Ms. Mi 70 and Stockholm, Riksarkivet, MPO, Mi 1.¹⁰⁰ However, rather than following Gneuss' views on Copenhagen Mi 70, Dumville followed earlier research by Lilli Gjerløw. Gjerløw studied Copenhagen Mi 70 in 1961, attributing it to Winchester.¹⁰¹ Dumville followed this assessment, hypothesizing that it was originally copied and used in England, only coming to Scandinavia in the later Middle Ages when it somehow was brought to a church in the diocese of Oslo. By contrast, Dumville's assessment of Mi 1 in Stockholm was contrary to all previous research. Since Toni Schmid first discussed Mi 1 in 1944, the fragment had commonly been attributed to Winchester.¹⁰² Instead, Dumville attributed Mi 1 to Canterbury, on the grounds that the script in one of the fragments of Mi 1, now held by the University of Lund (Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. Fragm. membr. lat. 1), reflects the Canterbury style of Anglo-Caroline script used in the eleventh-century benedictional London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2892 (the Canterbury Benedictional).¹⁰³ To date, Dumville is the only scholar to link Mi 1 to Canterbury, and this is the only published research which proposes as link between Canterbury and any of the eleventh- or twelfth-century fragments now in Scandinavian libraries.

⁹⁹ Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts* (2001), no. 396.

¹⁰⁰ David Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England* (1992), 81 and 88. In 1992 the other fragments associated with Copenhagen Mi 70 were Oslo, Rigsarkivet, MSS. Lat. fragm. 207.208.210, and the only other fragment associated with Mi 1 was Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, Ms. Fragm. membr. lat. 1.

¹⁰¹ Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (1961), 29-67. However, Gjerløw also conceded that the 'Style-I' Anglo-Caroline script appears rather rustic in comparison to other Style-I sources attributed to Winchester; see *Adoratio Crucis* (1961), 29. Her interpretation was that the fragment was likely to have come not from the Old Minster, but from an unknown monastic house within St. Æthelwold's sphere of influence.

¹⁰² Toni Schmid, 'Om Sankt Swithunusmässan i Sverige' (1944), 25-34. The opinion was seconded by Lilli Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (1961), 36-37, as well as Terence A. M. Bishop, *English caroline minuscule* (1971), xxii.

¹⁰³ David Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England* (1992), 88. See Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy of medieval England* (2009), 92 for more on the Canterbury Benedictional.

A few years after Gneuss' *Handlist*, K. D. Hartzell opened the metaphorical floodgates into early Anglo-Scandinavian manuscript studies. He listed no fewer than sixty-two liturgical sources from Scandinavian archives in his catalogue of English music manuscripts, and the chronological limits of his list were extended by a century to 1200.¹⁰⁴ Like Gneuss, Hartzell was convinced that most of the Scandinavian fragments with English traits were definitely written in England—or, at the very least, most likely to have been written in England—although his wording is certainly less resolute than in Gneuss' *Handlist*. His attributions of fragments currently in Helsinki in particular are decidedly in favour of English production; however, these views were largely made as agreements to Ilkka Taitto's 2001 catalogue of fragments in Finland, and not always from his own observations.¹⁰⁵

By contrast, Hartzell's attributions regarding the fragments in other Scandinavian countries are less certain. For the fragments now in Sweden, his entries are less resolute but still firmly in favour of England as the likely place of origin. His assessments of the fragments now in Norway, however, are far less certain: for five sources in the Riksarkivet at Oslo, he gave England as their origin, but his attribution is only tentative (i.e., 'England?').¹⁰⁶ Each of these five manuscript fragments is from the twelfth century, with the sole exception of Oslo, Riksarkivet, Mi 3, which is from the eleventh century. In all cases, they exhibit Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman features, but are written to a scribal standard lower than is typical of English manuscripts: the script in Oslo, Riksarkivet, Mi 3 is described as being 'malformed, waywardly written', and Hartzell's assessment is that the scribe did not understand suspension marks very well; even the material quality appears substandard, with poor quality ink, and only red ink used for the initials instead of the alternating colours typical in English manuscripts of this time.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1200 containing music* (2006).

¹⁰⁵ Ilkka Taitto, *Fragmenta membranea. IV: Inventory of sources of medieval Latin chant in Finland* (2001).

¹⁰⁶ The five Norwegian fragments with 'England?' as a origin are all housed at the Riksarkivet in Oslo: Oslo, Riksarkivet, Ms. Lat. fragm. 46.50.51; Ms. Lat. fragm. 384 1-2 (Gr 46); Ms. Lat. fragm. 202 1-2 (Mi 3); Ms. Lat. fragm. 288 1-5 (13); and Ms. Lat. fragm. 289 1-19 [13] (Mi 21).

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, 377, no. 230.

The twelfth-century gradual fragment Oslo, Riksarkivet, Gr 15 is one other special case in Hartzell's *Catalogue*. Hartzell saw that both the Germanic single-stroke, round clivis and Bergsagel's 'English neume' could be found amid the fragment's otherwise French Norman neumes.¹⁰⁸ The presence of Bergsagel's English neume was enough to allow Hartzell to assign an English origin to the gradual: his entry lists that it was produced in Normandy, subsequently taken to England where the English elements were presumably added, and then finally moved to Norway. Hartzell's interpretation of these manuscripts is certainly in keeping with the traditional understanding of the early book history of Scandinavia. The manuscript fragments used in his catalogue were all produced well before the thirteenth century, which has been traditionally viewed as the starting date for book production in Scandinavia, and within that context it seems perfectly reasonable to assign a foreign origin to any fragment whose production was at or before c. 1200. However, many of the Scandinavian fragments listed in Hartzell's *Catalogue* include a synthesis of English, German or French features, either in their codicological, musical or liturgical evidence, and many furthermore appear to have been written on comparatively poor materials and in an inexpert or inconsistent hand; such features make any attempts at assigning a reliable origin thorny at best. Hartzell's way of handling the issue was to assign origin based on the most visibly present influence in each fragment—in the case of Oslo, Gr 15, for example, he chose Normandy based on the neumatic script, followed by England based on the presence of Bergsagel's English neume, then Scandinavia based on its ultimate preservation there. Since the palaeographical features in most of the sixty-two cases in Hartzell's *Catalogue* largely align with English styles of textual or neumatic script, Hartzell has understandably assigned them English origins, with various degrees of conviction.

Of the manuscripts now in Scandinavia, most of the content in Gneuss' *Handlist* and Hartzell's *Catalogue* are concerned with sources in Norway. This focus on Norwegian fragments is a reflection of the general historiography over the past century on the relationships between the music and liturgy in medieval Scandinavia and England. Despite Isak Collijn earlier having discovered English content in the Swedish national archives, and despite Toni Schmid's subsequent publications on that topic, the foundational modern studies on Anglo-Nordic liturgical exchange came not from them,

¹⁰⁸ *Idem*, 372.

but from Lilli Gjerløw and her work on the liturgy at Nidaros.¹⁰⁹ Thanks to the influence of her work, much of the research into Anglo-Nordic liturgical exchange in the Middle Ages has until recently centred on Norway.

It is very probable that Norway's dominance in the discussion goes back even further than Gjerløw's mid-century work. Collijn's discoveries of Anglo-Saxon evidence in the Swedish fragments in the very early 1900s may have been grossly overshadowed by Absalon Taranger's *Den Angelsakiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske*, published in 1890.¹¹⁰ The basic premise of Taranger's study viewed Norway as the premier liturgical outpost in the newly Christianized region of Scandinavia, and claimed that the foundations of this early church were largely under the influence of the English—or more specifically, Anglo-Saxon—church. The book was certainly influential in its own way, and within twenty years Taranger's views appear to have been accepted wholesale in the community of medieval Scandinavian studies: in 1909 Henry Goddard Leach had used Taranger as a springboard for his own work.¹¹¹ In light of these studies it would seem that Isak Collijn's discoveries in 1914 should have made a larger impact, but the early and immediate focus on Norway perhaps enforced an unconscious dismissal of the rest of Scandinavia as serious contenders to the age and influence of the Norwegian church, in turn causing Collijn's findings to be read as misrepresentative of the historical reality in Sweden.

Since Absalon Taranger, Henry Goddard Leach and Lilli Gjerløw, the liturgical and musicological links between medieval England and Norway have been taken up most notably by John Bergsagel, Andreas Haug and Susan Rankin. Bergsagel's work in the 1970s expanded the topic somewhat to include sources from Denmark as well as Norway, but by and large his 'Scandinavian church' remained synonymous with the 'Norwegian church'.¹¹² In the 2000s Andreas Haug and Susan Rankin both participated

¹⁰⁹ Gjerløw published four important studies between 1957 and 80 on the subject of the liturgies of medieval Norway (and by extension, Iceland), all presenting English connections: 'Fragments of a Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon Script Found in Oslo' (1957), 109-22; *Adoratio Crucis* (1961); *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae* (1968); and *Liturgica Islandica* (1980).

¹¹⁰ Absalon Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflydelse paa den norske* (1890).

¹¹¹ Henry Goddard Leach, 'The relations of the Norwegian with the English church, 1066-1399, and their importance to comparative literature' (1909), 531-60, esp. 531-33.

¹¹² John Bergsagel, 'Anglo-Scandinavian musical relations before 1700' (1974), 263-72; and John Bergsagel, 'Liturgical relations between England and Scandinavia' (1975), 11-

in roundtable research workshops on Anglo-Norwegian manuscript connections, and were responsible for some cataloguing of early music fragments in Norwegian libraries.¹¹³ Haug also worked concurrently with Gisela Attinger and with Lori Kruckenberg, and their output supports Lilli Gjerløw's earlier depiction of Nidaros as an important centre of liturgical eclecticism with strong English ties.¹¹⁴ Rankin's study of the fragmentary manuscript Oslo, Riksarkivet, Mi 14, yet another missal fragment with ties to Winchester, was published in a recent book that summarizes a good portion of the results of the Norwegian fragment workshops of the past decade, in the memory of Lilli Gjerløw's contribution to the field.¹¹⁵ The preferential treatment of Norway as its own independent liturgical centre and of central importance to Anglo-Scandinavian liturgical studies can be seen right up to Hartzell's *Catalogue*. The Norwegian sources listed in Hartzell's *Catalogue* are listed as having only possible links to England, while the sources from elsewhere in Scandinavia are considered quite distinctly to be English exports that somehow wound up in Scandinavia. This is by no means a fault of Hartzell's, as in many cases his *Catalogue* merely presents an extensive collation of the state of research into the listed manuscripts at the time of his writing, often supplemented with his own notes and observations; but it does illustrate quite clearly the understandable tendency over the past century to treat Norway, and Nidaros in particular, as a wholly separate field of history from the other Scandinavian diocesan centres.

If Nidaros and Anglo-Norwegian liturgical exchange can be seen as the gold standard for medieval Scandinavian liturgical studies, then the field of Anglo-Swedish ecclesiastical interaction has only relatively recently begun to catch up. However, in the case of musicological scholarship specifically, Anglo-Swedish studies still progresses far behind its Norwegian counterpart, despite the foundational work of Isak Collijn and Toni Schmid. In regard to the earliest music sources held in Sweden and Finland, any

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¹¹³ Their involvements are recorded in Åslaug Ommundsen, ed., *The beginnings of Nordic scribal culture, ca 1050-1300* (2006).

¹¹⁴ Andreas Haug and Gisela Attinger, *The Nidaros office of the Holy Blood: Liturgical music in medieval Norway* (2004); and Lori A. Kruckenberg-Goldenstein and Andreas Haug, *Sequences of Nidaros: a Nordic repertory and its European context* (2006).

¹¹⁵ Susan Rankin, 'Fragments of a missal from the Old Minster, Winchester (Oslo, Riksarkivet Mi 14)' (2013), 67-81.

in-depth music analyses or chant comparisons against English sources has yet to go beyond two studies by Hartzell, his *Catalogue* and a further brief chapter in the inaugural collection of essays to commemorate the completion of the MPO project.¹¹⁶ In both cases, however, his considerations have been biased toward fragments which he has already classified as English and not Swedish: in other words, Hartzell's published interest in the Swedish fragments was not necessarily in the Swedish fragments themselves, but in identifying English fragments in Swedish libraries. In spite of this methodological stance, or perhaps because of it, Hartzell was forced to accept certain unusual observations regarding these fragments—observations which are difficult to explain in a purely English context. One eleventh-century fragment 'not of high quality', Fr 2070, he convincingly showed resembles a manuscript from Winchester, but with exceptions: Fr 2070 has a trigon in some chants where a pressus maior is used in all of the English sources with which Hartzell was familiar; he did find the trigon reading, however, in at least one French source.¹¹⁷

Another fragment in Sweden, the eleventh-century gradual Stockholm, Royal Library (Kungliga Biblioteket), A. 128, is more complicated in its evidence. Hartzell has noted that the liturgical content of the fragment unexpectedly concords with Compiègnese sources, when in his surmising it should have concorded instead to sources from Corbie if it were an English source.¹¹⁸ In addition to this, the musical notation in Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 128 reflects a hybridization of English and French styles, well executed but not always consistent in the scribe's choice of when to use the English or French variations of basic note shapes; again, in a manner altogether unique among the English sources known to Hartzell. The closest parallel he was able to make is to state that the main scribes of the New Minster Missal were familiar with a number of the basic shapes also used in Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 128, but not necessarily all of them, nor did they employ them in the same way.

Hartzell found several Anglo-Saxon palaeographical features in Fr 2688, a missal fragment from the early twelfth century, but in his transcription of its contents he identified two features for which he could find no satisfying explanation. The first of these is that the fragment accounts for Ember days in June during the third week after

¹¹⁶ K. D. Hartzell, 'Some early English liturgical fragments in Sweden' (2005), 82-98.

¹¹⁷ *Idem*, 83-90, esp. 87-90.

¹¹⁸ *Idem*, 90-92.

Pentecost, a decidedly Gallican practice and according to Hartzell a 'startling fact... somewhere in England in the eleventh century, an ecclesiastical institution embraced a Gallican practice in observing the Ember Days of the fourth Roman month'; he could find no similarities in English sources, but did find parallels in Gelasian sacramentaries of the eighth century, as well as in the Comes of Murbach.¹¹⁹

Still more striking is the fragment's ordering of Alleluia verses. Hartzell has observed that the Alleluia series in Fr 2688 can only possibly follow one of two customs, both continental—either northeastern France or central and northern Germany—rather than the distinctly different Alleluia series that was used in pre-Conquest England and in Corbie, according to Michel Huglo's lists of post-Pentecost Alleluia verses in medieval sources.¹²⁰ Each of these distinctly non-English features has constituted a problem for Hartzell, who as a specialist in pre-thirteenth-century English manuscripts viewed them as possible new additions into that corpus. In such a context, liturgical and codicological features which would otherwise count against an attribution of English origin have to be accepted as inexplicable anomalies within a genuine English product.

There are two possible problems that cannot be escaped in this approach: first, it requires a tacit assumption that all manuscripts with English characteristics must have some direct connection to England, either in production or in use; secondly, it also assumes that the most notable marker of a manuscript's origin can be found in what appears to be its most prominent regional feature, whether that feature is found in the manuscript's musical or textual palaeography, or its content. In Hartzell's case, the primary evidence is usually taken from the palaeography, thus creating some of the problems mentioned above in liturgical content. The presence of neumes in Fr 2070 that are typically associated with Winchester is certainly a good indication that the music scribe was either trained at Winchester himself or trained by someone else who was, and possibly even copied the notation there.¹²¹ However, the peculiar discrepancies that exist between the liturgical contents of Fr 2070—and Fr 2688 and Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 128—and the comparable English sources suggests that the obvious palaeographical

¹¹⁹ *Idem*, 95.

¹²⁰ *Idem*, 96-97.

¹²¹ Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper* (2007) is currently the ideal starting point for any study of neume scripts associated with eleventh-century sources from Winchester.

similarities to those English sources may in fact be just that: purely scribal surface feature of visual likeness, showing at best an indirect connection to English scribal practices but ultimately misleading as evidence of origin.

There are many ways in which a manuscript might have been copied by one or more scribes whose scribal training was from a tradition not parallel to the liturgical tradition of the manuscript, and it is even possible for multiple layers of scribal and liturgical customs to interact simultaneously within a single source. The simplest explanation for such a case is typically that the manuscript was commissioned from abroad, so that while it was prepared by the scribes of one tradition, the parameters of its commission reflected the needs of another tradition. This is essentially the explanation Hartzell gave for Fr 2070. Another solution, equally plausible, is that a scribe, having travelled into another region whose local scribal traditions were different—or even nonexistent, in the case of Scandinavia in the early years of Christianisation—copied the manuscript there, according to the local customs and based on the local exemplars of his new surroundings, but applying his own foreign training in the actual production of the book. In this scenario the scribe may have been itinerant, or even a temporary or permanent addition to the foreign scriptorium in which he worked.

Either of these is possible. Cnut the Great did, as mentioned previously, send four English bishops to Denmark, and likewise brought German clergymen with him to England.¹²² As early as the turn of the eleventh century, English clerics like Gotebald were being brought over by Nordic rulers in this way to evangelize within their domains; they also brought over (and received) bishops and clerics from Germany.¹²³

However, before the advent of sedentary bishoprics and parishes in Scandinavia, monasteries were the primary organizational unit in missionary activity. If a monastery set up a daughter house somewhere in Scandinavia, it obviously would have had to send away brothers to work them. Evesham Abbey hosted several just such an expedition of monks to set up a community in Odense during the eleventh century, and at least periodically reaffirmed the connection throughout the twelfth century.¹²⁴ Presumably in such a situation, the first collection of service books used at the new monastery would

¹²² Cf. pages 18 and 20.

¹²³ Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 104-67, esp. 135-63. Cf. pages 15 and 20.

¹²⁴ David Knowles, *The monastic order in England* (1976), 164. The daughter house in Odense had its prior elected at Evesham as late as 1174.

have been those brought along by the monks on their founding expedition, and after the new house was established any subsequent manuscripts would have had to be commissioned from abroad or else made locally; the local production could have been at the new monastery itself, or through commission from another monastery nearby if one existed. Since such a cottage industry of book production would not have required any large or dedicated scriptoria to maintain, there is no reason to assume that the earliest waves of Scandinavian monasteries were inherently incapable of producing their own service books, as all that would have been required is a single member of the founding brothers to have been trained in scribal work; assuming, of course, that he had access to or was also trained in the production of scribal materials, such as parchment, rulers, pricking awls, inks and pigments.

With this in mind, it is not unreasonable to assume that there must have been at least some presence of English-trained scribes working in Scandinavia throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, regardless of whether any evidence exists for dedicated scriptoria like those seen in England. The itinerant nature of continental scribes has been attested, and one of the key ways in which scribal practices evolved was what might be likened to cross-cultural interaction; through the exposure to and interaction with differing scribal conventions, as scribes and their manuscripts spread geographically. In post-Conquest England this phenomenon of intermingling scribal traditions was pervasive, and the same interactions can be found on the continent in Germany from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.¹²⁵

A wider historical context can be illuminating here, by looking at how hybrid cultures emerged in ecclesiastical centres and scriptoria elsewhere in Europe, whenever new staff had to be brought in from other regions or training backgrounds. In the years following the Norman Conquest, many English administrative and political structures were being restaffed with foreign personnel, and while these same sorts of changes may have been less immediate and strident in the English ecclesiastical structure, the implanted Norman secular culture nevertheless was guaranteed to find its way into monastic life. The result was a marriage of Anglo-Saxon and Norman monastic habits,

¹²⁵ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 22-53, *passim*, illustrates the close association between French, Anglo-Norman and specifically English scribal practices during the twelfth century. A German parallel can be found in scriptoria such as those at Bamberg, discussed below.

including by definition Anglo-Saxon and Norman scribal practices, over the course of the next century.¹²⁶ At the same time, in Bavaria, the scribal culture of Bamberg cathedral had become a similar hub of hybrid practices. The diocese of Bamberg was founded not many decades before the Conquest, and thus for a good part of that century had nothing like a local scribal culture on which it could rely. Over time the scriptorium slowly built up its resources through the importation of books and scribes until, by the early twelfth century, it had achieved what can be identified as a local practice, synthesized and modified from the various practices it had originally inherited from elsewhere in central and southern Germany seemingly without discrimination.¹²⁷

Though the former of these two cases covers the general state of scribal practice across a large region with multiple diocesan centres, and the latter only a single cathedral scriptorium, both have in common their most defining abstract feature: immediately following an overarching change in administration that brought in new scribes of varied training, they each spent the better part of a century in a state of transition; slowly, over some generations, these 'pluralist' scribal cultures synthesized those varied practices into a unique local practice. Contextually, this is precisely the sort of climate that existed in Scandinavia in the twelfth century, possibly even extending back into the late eleventh century. Frontier ecclesiastical structures were established by missionaries and local rulers, bringing in clergy from both English and German traditions, and even French Cistercian influence as well, after the foundation of Alvastra in 1143. It makes sense then that in each case, the earliest sources used in Scandinavia would have been imported from the immigrant community's home region, followed by a century or so of cross-cultural interaction in scribal practices, not only with other foreign scribes who had themselves relocated to Scandinavia, but also with generations of locally trained scribes brought up by those houses. Slowly these elements merged in different ways across the region as subsequent generations inherited and synthesized the disparate material handed down to them.

¹²⁶ Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy in medieval England: A history* (2009), 104-56 gives a solid argument against the view that Lanfranc instituted a centralized reform movement within the English church, rather being content to let most of the ecclesiastical institutions under his care to continue on more or less as they had before. In effect, in the English churches and monasteries that already existed the Norman Conquest was probably better described as a merger and assimilation of Norman practices into pre-existing ones.

¹²⁷ Miriam Wendling, 'Musical Notation in Bamberg 1007-1300' (2012), 75-146.

Chapter 2

Twelfth-century fragments with music notation in the MPO and FM databases

2.1 Using *Landskap* county records as case studies

Thanks to the early modern history of the MPO and FM fragments, there is a great deal of utility in grouping fragments by the geographical regions of the accounts in which they survive. These regions usually take the form of the annual accounts of the individual counties, or *landskapen*. As long as a critical eye is kept wary of the potential pitfalls of such an approach—the possibility of a set of records being bound centrally in Stockholm instead of locally, the semi-mobility of the provincial bailiffs, personal preferences in how each bailiff sourced his medieval fragments, and so on—looking at the fragments within a single province can help provide a general idea of the sorts of manuscripts that were present there at the time they were being mutilated to serve as account bindings.

Even with these caveats in place, creating a statistical map of sources across the Swedish provincial accounts is difficult at best. This is largely due to how the information itself is organized in the MPO. Currently, there are fairly reliable figures on how many individual manuscripts have been positively identified in the MPO, and Jan Brunius has gone as far as to separate these figures by century of production.¹ However, he provided no figures for the geographical distribution of manuscripts by individual province. As such, there is currently no reliable data to determine precisely how many separate manuscripts have been identified amongst the provincial accounts of any single province. To create such figures would take a very long time, and would ultimately prove to be of little use. After all, not all of the documents were bound within their local province, and we do not yet fully understand the binding practices of the individual bailiffs or the cameral archives in which they worked. Any sweeping comparisons made

¹ Cf. page 41.

now would need to be reconsidered once we do learn more about how, where and why the fragments were chosen for binding.

For now, it will have to be sufficient to look at individual fragments rather than manuscripts. This does not, however, mean that it is impossible to make generalized observations from looking at the fragment numbers alone. In fact, from the overall numbers of fragments we can still guess at a rough number of discrete manuscripts they are likely to represent, so long as there remains an awareness that there might be wild discrepancies with the actual numbers. To provide an example, there are c. 2,928 individual fragments recorded in the MPO with a firm twelfth-century dating, and Jan Brunius has counted approximately 1,818 separate manuscripts that are represented within these fragments, a reduction of about 38%.² Even with the likely possibility that more of these fragments will be grouped into common manuscripts in the future, it can be estimated that each manuscript provided roughly 2.6 folios on average. In this way, the total number of fragments found within a single province's cameral archive can be reduced by roughly 38% or 40%, or even simply cut in half, to determine a working possible number of individual manuscripts represented within those documents.

Even with these indirect figures, certain patterns emerge when grouping the fragments according to different criteria. Fragments with music do not always have the same percentage of coverage across the accounts as those without music, and the distribution of century of production, or of attribution of origin, are not even either. Fragments of any genre with a firm twelfth-century dating show a greater relative presence in the accounts of Småland, Östergötland and Västergötland than in any of the other provinces, taking up over 42% of the total number between them. Interestingly, these three provinces also supply the greatest concentration of such fragments with a proposed English attribution, and in the case of Småland, a German attribution as well. Småland also contains by far the greatest number of fragments with neumes, with no fewer than 73—almost a third of the total number of fragments in the MPO with neumes, and more than 10% of all twelfth-century fragments attached to a Småland account book, which is somewhat higher than the other provinces like Östergötland and Västergötland, which are at about 7.3% and 3.3%, respectively. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate

² Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 37-40.

Table 5. Statistical coverage of fragments by notation type in the accounts of three Swedish provinces

	Total recorded	Percent of total	N	S	G	Percent notated
Dated to twelfth century:	2,928	—	234	2,130	35	81.9%
...in Småland accounts	650	22.2%	73	505	3	89.4%
...in Östergötland accounts	261	8.9%	19	165	2	71.3%
...in Västergötland accounts	330	11.3%	11	275	1	87.0%
s. XII & attributed to England:	243	—	6	171	0	72.8%
...in Småland accounts	49	20.2%	0	42	0	85.7%
...in Östergötland accounts	61	25.1%	5	27	0	52.5%
...in Västergötland accounts	24	9.9%	1	22	0	95.8%
s. XII & attributed to Germany:	150	—	128	5	13	97.3%
...in Småland accounts	56	37.3%	53	0	2	98.2%
...in Östergötland accounts	8	5.3%	7	0	1	100%
...in Västergötland accounts	2	1.3%	2	0	0	100%

Notes: N—recorded as having 'neumatic notation'.
S—recorded as having 'square notation' ('quadrata').
G—recorded as having 'gothic notation' ('Hufnagel').

Table 6. Statistical coverage of fragments with neumatic notation in the accounts of three Swedish provinces

	Total recorded	Percent of total	Number dated after s. XII
Any date, with neumatic notation:	258	—	10
...in Småland accounts	74	28.7%	1
...in Östergötland accounts	21	8.1%	1
...in Västergötland accounts	13	5.0%	0

the varying character of each of these three provinces in terms of their neumatic fragments and twelfth-century fragments.

These three provinces—Småland, Östergötland and Västergötland—have been selected for this comparison on the basis that they provide the three largest concentrations of twelfth-century fragments with an assumed English origin. Småland and Västergötland have a very comparable percentage of fragments with English attributions (7-8% of all twelfth-century fragments in either accounts), but Östergötland soars above the rest of the entire MPO with over 20% of its twelfth-century fragments

with England as the proposed origin. Småland and Västergötland also share a reasonably stable percentage of total fragments from the twelfth-century with musical notation. Östergötland's percentage of musical fragments is much lower, which can be explained by a fairly large number of Bible fragments in the Östergötland accounts: twenty-four separate fragments from twelfth-century Bibles, compared to five with the Småland accounts and one with the Västergötland accounts.³

However, in terms of the proportion of fragments with neumatic notation (which are overwhelmingly *in campo aperto*) in contrast to those with square or prototypical square notation (which are overwhelmingly on a music staff), the parallels are instead between Småland and Östergötland. They each have between 10% and 12.5% of their music fragments using neumatic notation, and the rest are all square—with the exception of a token number of fragments with staved gothic notation; the Västergötland accounts, by contrast, have fewer than 4%. The distribution of neumes across fragments with English or German attributions also show inconsistency. In all three provinces, most of the fragments with an English attribution exclusively use square notation, with only a single fragment with neumatic notation in Västergötland accounts, and none in Småland accounts.⁴ Östergötland also accounts for five fragments with English attributions and neumatic notations. In opposition to this, almost all of the fragments with German attributions have neumatic notation, with the single exception of three fragments whose notation is catalogued as 'gothic'.

These figures begin to show the problems in using these numbers to create an accurate picture of notation types in the MPO fragments. With so few examples in some cases—ten or fewer individual fragments, or at times even only one or two—there is considerable room for error and randomness in manuscript survival. The loss of roughly one third of the bailiff's accounts to fire and other factors makes it impossible to create a statistical pool that is guaranteed to be representative of what the bailiffs actually had to hand when they were binding their account books. Moreover, it is generally the case

³ Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 54-75 ties the propensity of early Bible fragments with German palaeographical characteristics attached to Småland accounts to a wider discussion on German priestly activity in Sweden during the establishment of the Swedish dioceses.

⁴ MPO, Fr 1187 is the sole fragment of English attribution but with neumatic notation, known to have been attached to accounts from any of the three provinces.

that the fewer fragments found in a group, the more likely that some of them originated from the same manuscript, further skewing the data: for example, of the five 'English' fragments with neumatic notation attached to Östergötland accounts, four of them belong to the same manuscript.⁵ In the case of such a small source pool, the general maxim that the number of individual manuscripts can be estimated at 50% to 60% of the number of total fragments is unlikely to be an accurate measure.

Perhaps more important are the categories of 'neumatic', 'square' and 'gothic' notation, and how these terms are differentiated in the MPO. There are three fragments with 'gothic' notation in the accounts of the three provinces, and each was attributed to Germany specifically because of the notation.⁶ The catalogue's definition of twelfth-century 'gothic' notation here is made quite clear after looking at these three fragments: a central or northern Germanic neume script written on a music staff. The script generally uses square forms (square clivis, square pes), but Fr 213 and Fr 7137 at least both show some use of sharply angled round forms, especially in the torculus or other compound neumes that involve a clivis, making their placement between 'gothic notation' and 'staved neumes' blurry; in fact, there are aspects of either that can be seen in other fragments from Västergötland accounts whose staved notation closely resembles sources from northern and northeastern France.⁷ Conversely, the similar scripts are presented as 'neumatic' notation where they do not occur on a staff, as in the case of the missals Fr 290 (Östergötland accounts) and Fr 1217 (Västergötland accounts).⁸

The natural relationships that exist between Anglo-French neumatic scripts, 'transitional' prototypical square notations, and 'true' square notation also create problems of categorization. If the German-attributed fragments—largely identified by their notational scripts—are primarily listed as carrying neumes when presented *in campo aperto*, and gothic notation when on a staff, then the English-attributed fragments can be categorized based on the 'squarish' nature of the music scripts

⁵ MPO, Fr 433, Fr 443, Fr 448, Fr 449 and Fr 466. Fr 443 is the only fragment that does not belong to the same manuscript, Codex 70.

⁶ MPO, Ant 271 (Fr 29692) and Fr 7137 are from Småland accounts, and Fr 213 is from Östergötland accounts. All three are from separate manuscripts: an antiphoner, a missal and a breviary, respectively. Examples of each are reproduced in Plate 1.

⁷ Discussed in section 2.2.

⁸ Examples of both are reproduced on Plate 2.

themselves. All of the twelfth-century fragments with a suggested English attribution are on music staves, and use a typical Anglo-French neumatic script that incorporates a square pes and both round and square clivis.⁹ Those marked with square notation, however, can fit anywhere on the spectrum of the twelfth-century transition from the notation pictured in Codex 70 to the square notes pictured in another contemporary missal, Codex 892.¹⁰ The only way scripts can be differentiated along this spectrum is by the use of a hybrid classification in the MPO, 'Neum/Quad', which the database includes in searches for 'Quad' notation, but not in searches for 'Neum' notation. Additionally, there is also the problem of differentiation between 'English' and 'Anglo-French' among fragments using these styles of notational script. Because English, Norman and other French scripts often developed in tandem throughout the twelfth century, it is not uncommon for the suggested origin to include France or Normandy as a secondary possibility in these fragments, as well as England.¹¹

Finally, it is important to note the overall date range of fragments with neumatic notation, both within the MPO and within the three counties used in this case study. Table 6 shows that among all of the sources now in Sweden and Finland, neumatic notation—which here generally means unheightened neumes—were largely a practice of the twelfth century. A very small number of thirteenth-century fragments exist with unheightened neumes, and there are of course a number of fragments whose dates straddle the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but by and large the practice rapidly died out after c. 1200. This is similar to sources from Normandy and England, where scribes adopted the musical staff quite enthusiastically. In Germany, however, unheightened neumes continued alongside staffed notation for at least another century. Moreover, in the fragments attached to the accounts of Småland, Östergötland and Västergötland, the relationship does not change: each have little or no representation of post-twelfth-century unheightened notation.

⁹ Examples include Codex 70, Fr 443 and Fr 1187, reproduced on Plate 3. A full side of a folio from Codex 70 is also reproduced on Plate 22.

¹⁰ An example of Codex 892 (Fr 6547 fol. 1v) is reproduced on Plate 4.

¹¹ MPO, Codex 70, Fr 443, and Fr 1187, for example, all have the attribution 'England / Nordfrankreich?', on the grounds of the music script used.

2.1.1 Twelfth-century fragments with an English or German attribution of origin

The characteristic nature of fragments with an attribution outside of Sweden, then, is one primarily of notational categorization. Other factors, including textual script, layout and liturgical content, seem to have been considered less immediately apparent in their influence for origin assignments in the CCM and MPO. This is the primary reason why, for example, the fragment Br 216 (Fr 22073) is not provided with any origin in the MPO. Despite having a German notational script, the textual script in Br 216 appears characteristically of English influence, creating a visual disparity that cannot be resolved by simply choosing one scribal element over the other as more indicative of origin.¹² Most of the twelfth-century fragments in Sweden have no origin assigned to them: 2,363 in fact, or roughly 80% of them. In many cases, as in Br 216, this is because of conflicting scribal or (very occasionally) liturgical evidence; in many others, it is because none of the available evidence appears distinctive enough to suggest a specific regional practice. Therefore, any further discussion of fragments in the Småland accounts with places of origin assigned must include a comparison of their other, non-musical features; and to do that, there must first be a brief, general comparison of the overall codicological and palaeographical features of these fragments throughout the whole of the provincial accounts.

In the MPO and FM, twelfth-century fragments with an English origin assigned to them generally share certain features in common. The text is always copied in an English protogothic script; along with the music script, this is at the top of their defining features. Music may or may not be present, but where it is, it is copied either in an Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French style of script, or in a transitional form of square notation. Occasionally the music is copied without a staff—in which case it is always unheightened—but the vast majority are written on red four-line staves. Out of over 200 fragments, fewer than 30 of them are laid out in single-column format, with about half of these containing music, always as square notation; the rest are laid out in two columns. Regardless of whether they are in one or two columns, there is an even mix of large initials that are all in red, and initials that alternate colours. When alternating colours, these can be red and blue, but more often the red alternates with various

¹² Br 216 is also discussed on pages 75 and 198.

combinations of green, ochre, yellow or violet, and at times as many as all five within a single fragment.

Some fairly representative examples of fragments catalogued in the MPO with a proposed English origin include Codex 3, Codex 482 and Fr 2296; a fourth fragment, Ant 113, has no origin assigned, but demonstrates the same features.¹³ They all share the same basic layout: two columns, with writing above the top line.¹⁴ All three were pricked in both the inner and outer margins, which has been identified as a particularly Insular practice.¹⁵ However, while Codex 3 and Fr 2296 have drypoint rulings, Codex 482 has lead, and the vertical margins, or 'bounding lines', do not agree across all three sources, either. Two of the manuscripts, Codex 482 and Fr 2296, have two bounding lines on the outer margins and three in the intercolumn, while Codex 3 only has one on either side and two in the intercolumn. In his casebook study on the emerging differences between English and Norman manuscripts during the twelfth century, Neil Ker created a typology of margin layout using the number of lines on either side of a column, those with 'single bounding lines' and those with 'double bounding lines'.¹⁶ A manuscript in a single-column format with double bounding lines—that is, two margin lines on either side of the column—would be described as having a '2-2' column layout; by extension, Codex 3 can be described as a '1-2-1' layout, and Codex 482 and Fr 2296 as '2-3-2'. In two-column layouts, it was the difference between the 1-2-1 and 2-3-2 format that most interested Ker, as he found that progressively throughout the century after 1066, as English scribes generally moved from a preference for single columns to two columns, they also developed a characteristic preference for 2-3-2 formats specifically, though 1-2-1 and even 2-4-2 can be found in some fragments.

Their large initials run the spectrum of colours found, from all-red initials in Codex 3, to alternating colours in Fr 2296, to particoloured initials in Codex 482. The scripts share many features in common, including the characteristic protogothic **g** with a

¹³ Examples of these fragments are reproduced in Plate 10 (Ant 113), Plate 22 (Codex 3), Plate 25 (Codex 482) and Plate 29 (Fr 2296).

¹⁴ In fact, I have not found any eleventh, twelfth or early thirteenth-century sources in the MPO and FM where the writing is started below top line.

¹⁵ Jean Vezin, 'La réalisation matérielle des manuscrits latins pendant le haut moyen âge' (1978), 30-31.

¹⁶ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 42-43.

hooked tail that closes the loop with a thin hairline, a common method of drawing the ampersand (&), and punctuation that alternates between the *punctus* and *punctus elevatus*.¹⁷ The music is always on a four-line staff, but Fr 2296 actually uses black lines instead of red lines, something that I have found only very rarely in all of the fragments in the MPO, regardless of date or origin. In terms of notation, Codex 3 has clear Anglo-French neumes, while Codex 482 and Fr 2296 have a square notation at slightly different levels of development, with Fr 2296 retaining a couple of liquescent shapes but otherwise abandoning all former neume shapes in favour of the newer, utilitarian shapes made entirely of squares connected by hairlines.

Ant 113 (Plate 10) has no attribution of origin and is dated to the thirteenth century in the MPO, but it shows all of the same visual features as the previous fragments with English attributions, and I believe the date can be revised to the end of the twelfth century. Once again, a two-column, 2-3-2 layout can be seen, though the post-medieval trimmings have cut off any evidence of prickings on the outside or inside margins. All of the characteristic textual features are present, and the large initials closely resemble those in Fr 2296, including the extra-large illuminated initial to begin the feast. However, the initials artist of Ant 113 had greater control over his pen and drew his initials with much finer lines and softer curves, and other than the illuminated initial **N** made his entirely in red with green pencilling in the counters and bowls of each letter. The music scribe used early Anglo-Norman square notes with a different set of liquescent shapes from Fr 2296, but otherwise is another rare example of black lines being used for the staff instead of red lines.

Fragments with an assigned German origin tend to have several features of layout in common as well, though they retain a variety not seen in the fragments with English or Anglo-Norman attributions. Like the English fragments, most are in two columns: 118 fragments sport a two-column layout, compared to only twenty-six in a single column layout (the remaining handful of fragments are of unknown layout, due to trimming). Of the 95 thirteenth-century fragments with a German attribution, only two are in single column, showing the same sharp drop in single-column layouts after the

¹⁷ For a description of English uses of punctuation in this period, which featured the addition of this form of punctuation, see N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 46-49.

twelfth century.¹⁸ Other aspects of the layout, however, differ from the general character of 'Anglo-Norman' sources. Fewer than forty of the German-assigned fragments from the twelfth century use more than one colour in their large initials, somewhere roughly between thirty-six and forty fragments in all.¹⁹ The other two-thirds contain only red initials, with a small number of exceptions where an initial was written in the same black ink as the text; this can be seen in Codex 1383, a breviary fragment whose individual folios survived in Finnish provincial accounts, which has red initials for text items, but black initials—usually smaller at only two lines tall, but sometimes as large as three lines tall—for the musical items.²⁰

The formatting of columns is less apparent and less consistent than in the fragments with English or Anglo-Norman attributions. Both 1-2-1 and 2-3-2 layouts seem to exist in equal measure, but it is often difficult to make out any drypoint ruling at all. Where it is visible, though, the horizontal rulings almost always go straight across the entire folio rather than stopping inside of the bounding lines, while the 'Anglo-Norman' sources appear to have a healthy mix of styles, from staying within the column margins, to drawing across the whole folio, to drawing across the entire sheet in one go. The textual script can be anything from an old-fashioned caroline minuscule to a highly seriffed protogothic, either of them in an Anglo-French or continental style, with many levels of ambiguity: indeed, in the MPO no attempt has been made to categorize the script in nearly half of the German-assigned fragments, while sixteen have been identified as containing some form of caroline script, five containing 'true' textualis and sixty containing protogothic of some form.²¹ The musical notation likewise shows a

¹⁸ The two thirteenth-century fragments in single column are Fr 6604 (a breviary) and Fr 11195 (an antiphoner).

¹⁹ Inconsistent cataloguing and any number of historical calamities—trimming, acidic pigments or ink, fire or water damage—make a small handful very difficult to determine whether they used all-red initials or red with another similar colour, such as dark red, gold or ochre.

²⁰ An example of Codex 1383 has been reproduced in Plate 28.

²¹ Only two twelfth-century fragments, Fr 8560 and Fr 9083—both from the same missal, Codex 1292—have been given a German origin in the MPO on the grounds of their use of 'Schräg-ovale' caroline text script (see Plate 27), while at least a hundred fragments have at least included the textual script as additional evidence for English or Anglo-Norman origin alongside the music script, and in the case of non-musical sources such as Bibles, as the sole evidence. Decoration does not seem to have been cited as evidence in the CCM or MPO attributions.

wide variety of forms, many of them obviously German in origin, but others carry Franco-German and a few even carry staffed square notation. Most of the music fragments are without music staves; by definition, the thirteen fragments labelled as carrying gothic notation and the five labelled with square notation all use music staves, and four fragments labelled with neumatic notation use staves as well.²² In most of these cases the music staff is the standard four-line, all-red staff used throughout the fragments, but a portion of the ones catalogued with gothic notation—that is, the ones with late central German neumes on a staff—are among the rare exceptions.²³ The missal fragments Fr 4791 (Södermanland accounts) and Mi 211 (Fr 26627, of unknown archival provenance) both use black lines for the staff. The breviary fragment Fr 213, preserved in accounts for Östergötland, uses black lines but with the F-line drawn in red. A Småland accounts antiphoner fragment, Ant 271 (Fr 29692), uses three black lines.²⁴ Another missal fragment of unknown archival provenance, Mi 64 (Fr 30992), has a three-line black staff, with the middle line drawn in red. Such variations are extremely uncommon in the MPO fragments, and it is notable that the vast majority of them occur in fragments with clear Germanic and gothic influence in their notation.

Eight fragments have been reproduced in the plates at the end of this dissertation to illustrate each of these general features in various combinations, showing the range and variety of twelfth-century fragments with German attributions.²⁵ Demonstrated in these eight fragments are six different methods of drawing the initials: all-red initials, either simple or ornate; simple red initials with ornate minor initials in black; red initials with the option of using a green initial to start the office (an option not always taken); a more or less strict alternation of red and green; and a combination of red, green and violet, with the 'coloured' (i.e., non-red) initials highlighted with red. The layouts include a variety of formats, as well. Codex 1292 is in single column, with single (1-1)

²² MPO, Br 771 (Fr 22988), Fr 7994, Fr 10609 and Mi 580 (Fr 27373). All were used to wrap the accounts of different provincial or military archives. Codex 898 (Fr 6599) is also catalogued with staffed notation, but the neumes in that fragment are entirely unheightened.

²³ Examples of these are reproduced on Plate 5.

²⁴ Fr 213 and Ant 271 are also discussed on pages 65 and 77, with examples on Plate 1.

²⁵ The fragments and their plates are Br 771 (breviary, Plate 18), Codex 132 (breviary, Plate 24), Codex 906 (missal, Plate 26), Codex 1292 (missal, Plate 27), Codex 1383 (breviary, Plate 28), Fr 4015 (breviary, Plate 30), Fr 8630 (missal, Plate 31) and Fr 11101 (breviary, Plate 32).

bounding lines. The breviary Codex 132 has a bounding line format of 1-2-1, with horizontal guiding lines drawn all the way across the folio and prickings made in both inner and outer margins. The rest can be compared to another breviary fragment, Codex 132, in terms of which features they lack: the layout of Codex 1383 lacks prickings in the inner margin; the horizontal guiding lines of Fr 4015 only go across the whole folio every few lines, with the rest kept within the writing spaces; Fr 8630 has a 2-3-2 format for its bounding lines and also lacks inner margin prickings; and Codex 906 has an entirely different format, with 1-2-1 bounding lines, no inner margin prickings, and horizontal guiding lines drawn only within the writing spaces. The drypoint lines in Fr 11101 have long since disappeared, but it looks to have been prepared in the same way as Codex 906.

Palaeographically the fragments are equally varied. Their textual scripts include influences from caroline letterforms (Codex 1292), as well as continental and Anglo-French protogothic scripts (Fr 8630 and Codex 132, respectively). The music scripts include staffed and unstaffed notation, and in the case of Codex 1292 no notation at all. The unheightened neumes in Codex 906 and Codex 1383 have several shapes in common, though Codex 1383 uses a square clivis while all of the neume forms in Codex 906 are round. Additionally, Codex 1383 only rarely has the punctum as a standalone neume, and when it does occur it is generally at the beginning of a chant or musical phrase: otherwise it only exists as part of the climacus and related compound neumes, but the scribe separated them out horizontally on the page so that they appear as separate notes; otherwise, individual notes are represented by a virga. In Codex 906 the punctum exists only in the scandicus, with all of its other uses—in the scandicus and as a standalone neume—showing a tractulus instead. The staved sources feature three entirely separate scripts: Fr 4015 has a German script, Fr 8630 has French or Anglo-French neumes that are just beginning to hint at the transition to square notes, and Codex 132 has a clear and recognizable square notation. In fact, Codex 132 would likely have been categorized as an English or Anglo-Norman manuscript if it were not for the single addition of German neumes on one of the music staves.²⁶

²⁶ See Plate 24. The Germanic neumes were copied onto fol. 1v. If the fragment were in fact of foreign origin, then a more likely explanation would be that it was English, and the German neumes were added later, e.g. after it arrived in Scandinavia.

Among these various scripts of unheightened notation is one in particular—or rather, a family of related scripts—that is worth noting separately. The fragments Br 771 and Fr 11101 each feature neume scripts from this family.²⁷ Overall the neumes in each fragment have strong similarities to south German neumes, drawn at a steep ductus. For neumes that have both round and square forms they use a mixture of both, but typically draw each with very angular and sharp corners. The pes in particular has a sharp, triangular shape, and the lower hook is closed with a hairline. The shape is ultimately borrowed from the round pes, but the actual execution of it looks more like a square pes with a stylized opening flourish to close the lower bowl. In effect, it is neither a round pes nor a square pes, but something else entirely, which in this dissertation I will call a 'ladle-shaped' pes. The development of the ladle shape should not be seen as simply a calligraphical combination of the round and square pes, even though it is certainly possible that it had originally evolved as distinctions between the various pes forms were lost. What appears to be most important about the adoption of the ladle shape in the pes is how the same scribe used the ladle shape in other neumes, which demonstrates how he conceived of neume symbols in general.

This particular form of the pes can help to distinguish between groups of neumatic scripts that are found in the MPO and FM fragments, since I have not been able to find continental sources where the shape has exactly the same calligraphic features as Br 771. There are other features concerning the ladle shape that set Br 771 and Fr 11101 apart from continental counterparts, as well. In both of these fragments the same ladle shape can be seen in other neumes besides the pes: specifically, in the openings of the torculus and the quilisma. After viewing a basic table of neumes from different notational families, it is readily apparent that most of the multinote neumes can be thought of as 'compound' shapes, created by combining the shapes of simpler neumes into a single calligraphic unit.²⁸ For example, the round pes in the notation of St-Gall can be conceived as a punctum (lower note) attached to a virga (higher note), to create a single neume representing a two-note ascending figure. However, it is equally clear that the round pes, virga and punctum remain unrelated calligraphically and visually: in

²⁷ Reproductions on Plates 17 and 32.

²⁸ David Hiley, *Western plainchant* (1993), 340-46 provides a brief summary of the basic thought process behind neumatic notation, with comparisons of the most prominent regional variations continuing from 346-56.

other words, the only way a reader can know the function of the pes is through an abstract understanding of how the neume itself functions, which is an understanding that must be taught and cannot rely on previous knowledge of how puncta and virgae work. A more noticeable example can be seen in the torculus, a three-note neume with a melodic contour that goes up and then down (i.e., low-high-low). The contour can be abstracted as a pes (low-high) which then turns into a clivis (high-low), but in any given family of notation the actual calligraphic shape of the torculus may or may not resemble either the pes or the clivis at all; knowledge of its origins, meaning and musical significance, therefore, were often divorced from the visual symbol that signified that knowledge.

The music scribes of Br 771 and Fr 11101, however, seem to have conceived of neumes somewhat differently.²⁹ The ladle shape was specifically incorporated into neumes that feature a two-note ascent—and not just in general shape or contour, but literally in the scribe's execution of the shape's calligraphy. Likewise, the 'high-low' portion of the torculus in both cases incorporates the exact calligraphy of the clivis, and in the scandicus and climacus the virga is drawn exactly as it is drawn when by itself. This can be compared to Codex 1383, whose torculus is inconsistent in its adoption of the pes and clivis shapes, and which uses both round and square forms of the pes and clivis when they occur by themselves. Codex 906 is closer to Br 771 and Fr 11101 in its notation, and even features a squat form of the ladle shape in the pes and quilisma, but the virga is sometimes drawn with a left-facing 'episema' flag at the top when it is combined into a climacus or scandicus, and often is drawn with a sharper bend in the middle, presumably to signify that it is part of a compound neume. In these last cases the constituent shapes of the compound neumes are easily interpreted, but there is still a visual separation in the calligraphy between a virga and a virga-shape inside of a compound neume. So far I have not been able to find continental sources which use the ladle shape in this way.³⁰

²⁹ See Table 7.

³⁰ Wendling has identified a scribal hand active in Bamberg in the early twelfth century who drew his pes very similar in shape to the ladle pes of Br 771, but he did not incorporate the shape into his other neumes, and Wendling was not able to find further examples of this pes shape from Bamberg or elsewhere in Germany. See Miriam Wendling, 'Musical notation in Bamberg 1007-1300' (2012), 126-27.

Table 7. Comparison of unheightened notations from fragments studied in Appendix A





















Fragment		Virga	Climacus	Scandicus	Clivis	Pes	Torculus	Quilisma	Porrectus	Liquescents, misc.
Br 47										
	scribe A									
	scribe B									
Br 166	scribe C									
										
Br 177										
Br 216										
Br 225										
Br 232										
Br 233										
Br 771										
Br 1272										
Br 1297 et al	scribe A									
	scribe B									
Br 1299										
Codex 878										
Fr 5792										
Fr 11101										
Mi 446 et al										

Table 8. Analysis of calligraphic uniformity in unheightened notations from fragments studied in Chapter 2 and Appendix A

Fragment	Pes	In torculus?	In quillisma?	Clivis	In torculus?	In porrectus?	Virga	In scandicus?	In climacus?
Br 47	square and open round	no	no	round	yes	n/a	up (1) and down (2)	up	up
Br 166 (scribe A)	square	no	no	square	yes	n/a	down (2)	no	no
Br 166 (scribe B)	square	no	no	square	yes	n/a	down (2)	no	n/a
Br 166 (scribe C)	closed round	yes	no	round	yes	n/a	down (2)	yes	yes
Br 177	closed round	yes	yes	round	no	n/a	up (2)	no	yes
Br 216	ladle and closed round	n/a	n/a	square and round	n/a	n/a	down (2)	n/a	n/a
Br 225	square and open round	n/a	n/a	round	n/a	n/a	up (1 and 2)	no	n/a
Br 232	square	no	no	square	yes	yes	down (2)	no	n/a
Br 233	square and open round	yes (round)	yes (round)	square and round	no	n/a	down (2)	yes	yes
Br 771	ladle	yes	yes	square and round	yes (square)	yes (square)	down (2)	yes	yes
Br 1272	square (transitional)	yes	n/a	square (transitional)	yes	no	down (2)	n/a	yes and no
Br 1297 et al (scribe A)	closed round	n/a	yes	round	n/a	no	down (2)	yes	yes
Br 1297 et al (scribe B)	ladle	yes	n/a	square	yes	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Br 1299	closed round	n/a	yes	square	n/a	n/a	up (2)	yes	n/a
Codex 878	ladle	yes	yes	square	yes	n/a	down (2)	yes	yes
Fr 5792	ladle and square	yes (ladle)	yes (ladle)	square and round	yes (square)	yes (square)	down (2)	no	yes
Fr 11101	ladle	yes	yes	round	yes	yes	down (2)	no	n/a
Mi 446 et al	open and closed round	no	no	square	yes	yes	down (2)	yes	yes

There are several fragments whose music hands share a strong resemblance to the hands in Br 771 and Fr 11101, though none of them conceived of their neume shapes in exactly the same way. The ladle-shaped pes can be seen in the music hand of Br 216, Codex 878 and Fr 5792, as well as in the hand of scribe B of Br 1297.³¹ The significance of the ladle shape is evident: in each of these fragments, if the music scribe also used the torculus or quilisma neumes, then those neumes also featured the ladle shape, exactly reproduced with the same calligraphic execution as in the pes.³² Similarly, the neume scripts in those same fragments are more likely to treat other basic shapes in the same way: the clivis is always copied precisely into the torculus and porrectus where they occur, and the virga is very likely to be incorporated into the scandicus and climacus neumes without alteration. By contrast, fragments whose scripts do not incorporate the ladle shape are less likely to have such rigid similarities between simple neumes and the compound neumes built from them.³³

As a general tool for palaeographical analysis, the ladle shape can be used as a visually distinctive signpost, signifying whether other factors were at work in the scribe's thought process behind neume symbols and neume recognition. Its use appears to coincide with a shift away from thinking of neumes as a lexicon of discrete symbols each with its own meaning, toward thinking of them as building blocks of one- or two-note values, combined into larger units of musical syllables. The former requires training in each note shape individually, and the latter requires only training in the building blocks, with complex neumes becoming apparent simply by recognizing the constituent parts. It is not by coincidence that this shift also corresponds to a gradual abandonment of liquescent shapes and a reduction of compound neume types in general, and largely the philosophy can be tied to the same notational philosophy that saw the development of square notation throughout the same period. The studies of individual fragments that follow in this chapter, including Br 771, will discuss this topic in further detail.

³¹ Br 1297 also includes Br 1298 + Br 1316 as part of the same manuscript; see the entry for Br 1297 + Br 1298 + Br 1316 in Appendix A.

³² See Table 7 and Table 8.

³³ See Appendix A for more detailed examinations of the palaeographical features of select fragments with unheightened neumes.

2.1.2 Fragments in Småland and Östergötland accounts

The provincial accounts of Småland are unique among the provinces of Vasa Sweden. Among the medieval fragments used to bind the account books, those in the Småland accounts yield the highest concentration of fragments with either an English or a German assignment of origin. The German-assigned fragments from this collection have already been discussed to some degree, but the English-assigned fragments from Småland accounts have not yet been explored as a group, and the fragments with German attributions still need to undergo a full codicological analysis.³⁴ On top of this, Småland also contains the single highest concentration of twelfth-century fragments that have been given a French origin (17 out of 79 total across the MPO), but not Norman (6 out of 57 total); that distinction goes to the province of Västergötland, which has thirteen twelfth-century fragments with a possible Norman origin given. It must be remembered first and foremost that, at least in the case of music fragments, most attributions of foreign origin have been based on the musical script; or rather, the musical script plus the lack of any clear contradictory evidence, such as the presence of a local saint's feast. As such, rather than considering the Småland accounts to have the largest concentrations of imported manuscripts, it would perhaps be better to consider them as having the largest concentrations of fragments whose music notation shows distinctive signs of being influenced by a regionally specific script.

Table 9 provides an overview of layout and music script in Småland fragments with a foreign origin ('English', 'German' and 'French/Norman'). Fragments have been categorized by their attribution of origin, then by their column layout. Within each of these categories are given the number of fragments within each major type of notational system—unheightened neumes, 'transitional' notations and fully developed square or gothic notation—and as a further distinction, whether the initials are all-red or alternate colours. The table illustrates the weight given to music script in the CCM and MPO attributions, but it also reveals other correlations between groups. The table shows that the single-column format is quite rare in the group with German notations, with a fair minority among the English group and nearly even with two-column sources in the

³⁴ The fragments with German attribution in the Småland accounts have been discussed in Erik Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 202-05 and 243-60, with a focus on their material role as evidence of German pastoral activity in early Christian Sweden.

Table 9. Layout of fragments in the accounts of Småland with English, French and German styles of music notation

Fragments with music	Total no. of fragments	U	UT	ST	S	GT	G
'English' (sc) ³⁵	14	0	1 (1) ³⁶	4 (3) ³⁷	6 (6) ³⁸	0	0
'English' (dc)	34	0	0	10 (10)	21 (21)	0	0
'German' (sc)	6	6 ³⁹	0	0	0	0	0
'German' (dc)	50	47 (6)	0	0	0	1	1
'French/Norman' (sc)	9	0	0	5 (3)	4 (1)	0	0
'French/Norman' (dc)	13	0	0	7 (6)	6 (6)	0	0

Notes: (sc) — single-column layout (dc) — double-column layout
U — Unheightened neumes **UT** — Unheightened 'transitional' (square)
ST — Staffed 'transitional' (square) **S** — 'Square' notation (staffed)
GT — Staffed 'transitional' (gothic) **G** — 'Gothic' notation (staffed)

Numbers in parentheses record the number of fragments whose large initials alternate between red and one more or other colours. Where only one number is given, all of those fragments have initials in red only, or (in a few cases) no large initials are present.

French and Norman group. As expected from the general survey of the MPO fragments in Table 5, unheightened neumatic notations are found only in fragments with Germanic neume scripts, featuring all of the varieties of script shown elsewhere in the Swedish fragments, though the distinctive 'ladle-infused' script of Br 771 can only be found in a single Småland source, Codex 878.⁴⁰ Otherwise, there are examples of individual scripts incorporating similar ladle shapes and possibly the other features that occur with it, but

³⁵ MPO, Fr 5920 has not been included in the table. It is a glossed Bible with the main text in a single column, and so is better described as a three-column layout, with the gloss text in the outer columns.

³⁶ MPO, Fr 6052.

³⁷ MPO, Fr 5477, Fr 5857, Fr 6134 and Ant 86 (Fr 20247).

³⁸ MPO, Fr 6808, Fr 6809, Fr 6852, Fr 6853 and Fr 6894.

³⁹ This includes MPO, Fr 21714, which is in single column but does not have a layout listed in the database.

⁴⁰ Codex 878 is discussed in detail below.

none quite as clear in their connection as Codex 878. Only two fragments from the German group have staffed notation at all.⁴¹

The English and French music scripts, on the other hand, are of the transitional or square variety, and are copied on music staves. Interestingly, there is only one fragment in the Småland accounts with unheightened notation that is not Germanic in appearance. This fragment, Br 144, is attributed to England on the grounds of its textual script, but uses a typical Anglo-Norman transitional square notation copied *in campo aperto*.⁴² This occurs somewhat more often in the English-assigned fragments attached to the Västergötland accounts, and so will be discussed further in that section.

The ratios of multi-coloured initials also show a divide between groups: those of English and French script overwhelmingly use alternating colour schemes—almost always red-blue in the French and Norman group, and almost always a combination of red with green, violet, gold, blue and/or ochre in the English group; these combinations are consistent across column layouts, although the French and Norman group has a greater representation of all-red initials in its single-column sources. The German group, however, is almost entirely all-red in its colouring schemes.

While there is no way to know for sure that a particular fragment bound to a Småland account book was residing in that county at the time of acquisition, it is possible to see certain trends in the neumatic sources that give the impression of common practice. The lack of staffed gothic notation, a preference for all-red initials, the distinct combination of Anglo-French textual script with Germanic neumes—such features are not necessarily universal in the MPO fragments, but seem to have a common presence in the Småland accounts. This may be the result of coincidence, but it does lend itself to be viewed as evidence that at least a representative number of these neumatic sources were present in Småland during the sixteenth century when they were confiscated and repurposed as book covers.

On top of this is the impossibility of knowing whether these fragments were in Småland at the time of their original use: that is, during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Ultimately the only way to collect persuasive evidence for this is to conduct

⁴¹ MPO, Ant 271 (Fr 29692) and Fr 7137. With the exception of one other fragment, Fr 213 (Östergötland accounts), these are the only fragments in the accounts of Småland, Östergötland or Västergötland with staffed gothic or protogothic notation. Cf. page 65, n. 6.

⁴² An example of Br 144 has been reproduced on Plate 14.

an extensive and detailed survey of the liturgical contents and palaeographical features of every twelfth-century fragment in the Småland accounts, in comparison to those from other Swedish provinces and from what is known of the nearby diocesan liturgies. Such a venture is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, at the moment it is enough to suggest that a fairly large but unknown number of these fragments were not only used in Sweden, but copied there as well; and since such a large concentration of these twelfth-century fragments have survived in the Småland accounts in particular, it could very well be the case that they were present in Småland right from the beginning. As long as there remains a healthy scepticism that accounts for coincidence, there is room for at least considering the possibility.

Historical context certainly aligns itself favourably to the hypothesis of a Småland origin for some of the fragments. Due to their use of transitional and square notations, the English and French group of fragments in the Småland accounts generally date from the later twelfth century, possibly spilling over into the early thirteenth century. The German group of fragments, however, includes a range of datings, from early in the century to very late. Assuming that both groups share a common provenance, and that the German group sources which synthesize English palaeographical features also represent those sources from later in the century, then it would suggest a categorical shift at some point in the century from German scribal models to a synthesis of German and Anglo-French models, but with already established practices in unheightened notation largely unaffected.

During the twelfth century Småland was not a single county, but a collection of small territories without its own diocese. Ecclesiastical authority would have been split between Linköping in the north, in Östergötland, and Lund in the south, in Danish Skåne. Småland only became ecclesiastically independent at some point in the 1160s, where Växjö cathedral was established in the southern part of the region. The proposed chronology of a mid-century shift to include English and Anglo-French scribal practices corresponds roughly to the foundation of Växjö, which may have started as an outgrowth out of Linköping diocese, which itself was influenced by Lund.⁴³ The French

⁴³ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 82-83 and 93. Växjö's connection to Lund was first demonstrated by Toni Schmid, 'Växjö stifts biskopar intill år 1287' (1929), 275-84. Sven Helander, *Ordinarius lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder* (1957), 57-102 later demonstrated the indirect connection through Linköping.

group can be explained through the foundation of Nydala Abbey as a daughter house of Clairvaux in 1143. The French Cistercians set up houses in Sweden, concentrated especially in and around Småland, Östergötland and Västergötland, and so the larger presence of French-attributed sources in the accounts of those other counties can be explained in the same way.

There is also another reason why it is useful to identify a series of hypothetically typical features of layout in the fragments from Småland accounts. Large quantities of unattributed Småland sources can be sorted and gauged against the common features of the attributed sources, in an attempt to understand why such fragments were not given attributions, or whether either group can be used to strengthen the case for assigning or removing the attributions of the other. As expected, a great deal of caution must be taken to avoid treating the groups themselves as iconic categories, or as indicatively 'English' or 'German'. In fact, once one begins to look closely at the palaeographical or liturgical evidence of individual fragments, the strength of these groups begins to falter, and in the case of the German notation group the category completely breaks down. Many of the fragments with German notations in fact have other palaeographical features which would otherwise resemble the English group. The most common of these factors is the use of an Anglo-Norman or Anglo-French textual script, and while the large initials are often all red, their overall florid designs can show similarities to Anglo-French styles of large initial. Their liturgical contents may also provide conflicting evidence for origin. These conflicts bring serious doubt to the idea that the so-called 'German' group has any connection to German manuscript production at all, since they often bear only superficial resemblance in some, but not all, of their codicological and palaeographical features.

The same statistical analyses that have been discussed in this section can be applied to another Swedish provinces, with similar results for at least some of them. The overall analysis of twelfth-century fragments surviving in the Östergötland accounts resembles that of the Småland fragments very closely, though the ratios of origin attributions are not the same. Table 10 shows that the two-column layout not only is more common than single-column, but is not far from being the exclusive format. Fragments from the German group continue to tend towards red initials, while fragments from the English group tend toward alternating colours; the fragments from

Table 10. Layout of fragments with a foreign assignment of origin in the accounts of Östergötland

Fragments with music	Total no. of fragments	U	SN	ST	S	GT	G
'English' (sc)	4	0	0	1 (1)	1 (1)	0	0
'English' (dc)	54	0	5	7 (5)	15 (15)	0	0
'German' (sc)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
'German' (dc)	8	7 (2)	0	0	0	0	1 (1)
'French/Norman' (sc)	2	0	0	1 (1)	1	0	0
'French/Norman' (dc)	7	0	1 (1)	5 (3)	1	0	0

Notes: (sc) — single-column layout (dc) — double-column layout
U — Unheightened neumes **SN** — Unheightened 'transitional' (square)
ST — Staffed 'transitional' (square) **S** — 'Square' notation (staffed)
GT — Staffed 'transitional' (gothic) **G** — 'Gothic' notation (staffed)

Numbers in parentheses record the number of fragments whose large initials alternate between red and one more or other colours. Where only one number is given, all of those fragments have initials in red only, or (in a few cases) no large initials are present.

the French and Norman group seem to be balanced between initial colouring, but there are so few fragments available that the balance may be merely coincidental.

The most striking feature of the Östergötland fragments, however, is the large number of fragments in the English group which bear no notation at all. Out of fifty-eight fragments, only twenty-four have some form of notation, with the rest being non-notated liturgical books or Bibles. In the Småland accounts there are very few fragments without notation that have been given a foreign attribution, since the music notation is often the crucial factor in attribution. In the Östergötland accounts, however, are fragments without music but still presenting clear English scribal characteristics. As one of the oldest Christian regions in Sweden, populated with a number of very important ecclesiastical institutions like the houses at Vreta and Alvastra, it would make sense that fragments used to bind the accounts of Östergötland might have a higher than normal representation of non-liturgical books that would have come from their libraries, such as Bibles. In general, however, it is very difficult to make any claims from the statistical information on the Östergötland accounts fragments. There are simply not enough fragments in the French or German groups to make any meaningful comparisons, and

the only distinct difference between the English groups in Småland and Östergötland is the large presence of Bibles in Östergötland, for reasons unknown.

2.1.3 Fragments in Västergötland accounts

Västergötland is one of the southwestern provinces of Sweden, naturally bounded by the country's two largest lakes: Vänern to the north, and Vättern to the east (and beyond it, Östergötland). Its southeastern edge borders Småland. Within its medieval borders were at least three town centres with very early ecclesiastical connections: Skara, Falköping and Vadstena. Skara was itself the seat of Sweden's oldest diocese, established at least in concept by the end of the tenth century.⁴⁴ The areas around Falköping and Vadstena already had several stone churches by the first half of the twelfth century, of which two surviving today are Sankt Olofs in Falköping and the stone church at Herrestad, near Vadstena.⁴⁵ Vadstena itself was also the eventual location of the first Brigittine monastery in 1350.⁴⁶

Currently, twenty fragments known to survive within the post-medieval accounts from Västergötland have been identified as carrying neumes of some sort. The total number of individual manuscripts represented by these fragments is seventeen.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ A facsimile edition of missals from Skara, including some MPO fragments thought to belong to Skara and generally of later date than those considered here, was published in 2006: Christer Pahlmblad, ed., *Skaramissalet. Studier, edition, översättning och facsimil av handskriften i Skara stifts- och landsbibliotek* (2006).

⁴⁵ The Swedish National Heritage Board maintains current archaeological and historical information on both churches in the *Bebyggelseregistret* (*BeBR*). Sankt Olofs was built sometime in the twelfth century and currently sits within the geographical limits of the diocese of Skara: 'Falköping Gamla Stan: Sankt Olofs', in *BeBR* (<http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/byggnad/visaHistorik.raa?byggnadId=2140000426468&page=historik>, accessed 28 June, 2016). There was a wooden church at Herrestad at some point in the eleventh century, and the stone tower was built c. 1116-17; the town is not far from Linköping and would have fallen under its episcopal jurisdiction: 'Vadstena Herrestad: Herrestads kyrka', in *BeBR* (<http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/byggnad/visaHistorik.raa?byggnadId=2140000148171&page=historik>, accessed 28 June, 2016).

⁴⁶ The second volume of James Hogg, ed., *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order* (1993) is dedicated to the foundation of Vadstena Abbey. The order developed its own musical liturgy, which has been covered in a number of musicological studies. Ann-Marie Nilsson, *Musiken i Sverige*, vol. 1 (1994), 125-38 provides a full introduction to the topic with notes.

⁴⁷ Frs 27176 through 27178 share a common source (Mi 455), and Frs 2070-2071 share a common source (Codex 322). Another fragment, Br 1912 (Fr 24449), which is listed

All but two of these manuscripts have been dated to the twelfth century, presumably (and reasonably) on the grounds of their music script; the outliers are Br 1317 (Fr 23715), which may be from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, and Codex 322, which is from the eleventh century.⁴⁸ For the purposes of the current discussion, however, Codex 322 will have to be removed from the list. Its strikingly early date makes it problematic for inclusion here, and K. D. Hartzell has already made a detailed defence of the English origins of Codex 322, along with other eleventh-century fragments, elsewhere.⁴⁹ Additionally, the necessary folios of Fr 1021 could not be viewed in this study, bringing the total number of sources down again, to a total number of fifteen manuscripts ranging from the early to the late twelfth century.⁵⁰ This range of dates diverges considerably from the neumatic sources in the Småland accounts, which include a comparatively large number of thirteenth-century sources, as well.

While most of the manuscript fragments use only unheightened neumes, three make use of four-line staves, and one more has unstaffed but heightened neumes. Table 11 compares their basic palaeographical features.⁵¹ No two of these four heightened fragments are identical in layout, though they are all in a two-column layout with dry-point lines that are now invisible, use alternating colours in their large initials, and tend generally toward Anglo-Norman musical and textual scripts. As in all of the staffed sources in the MPO, each of these three fragments use four red lines for their staff, rather than a variation or development upon of the Guidonian coloured staff.⁵²

in the MPO as having unheightened neumes, in fact has no music, only diacritical marks over the text. Because of this, it has been ignored in this chapter.

⁴⁸ Br 1317 has not been used in any previous studies, and so the dating attribution here is taken directly from the MPO catalogue. However, it will nevertheless be considered amongst the sources here as generically within the context of a 'long' twelfth century.

⁴⁹ K. D. Hartzell, 'Some early English liturgical fragments in Sweden' (2005), 83-90, esp. 87-90.

⁵⁰ The folios containing music were not photographed, and the physical item was having restoration work performed.

⁵¹ Several plates are provided to illustrate the information on Table 11: Plate 6 shows fragments in the Västergötland accounts with heightened neumes, while Plates 7 through 9 show some with unheightened neumes.

⁵² It is always possible that scribes did experiment with coloured staff lines in twelfth-century Sweden, but there is little evidence to prove it: the only fragment from the MPO or FM to contain multiple line colours is the thirteenth-century breviary Br 76, which uses a black staff with one of the lines drawn in brown ink. By contrast, Michel Huglo argued that the predominant practice in Normandy, Italy and the Rhenish lands during

Table 11. Neumatic notation in fragments from Västergötland accounts

Fragment	Type	Initials	Neumes	Heightening	(From MPO) Text
Br 1305 (Fr 23700)	Brev.	Red, with largest initials in blue & red	Anglo-French	4-line staff (clefs in C & F)	English?
Fr 1187	Missal	Blue & red	Anglo-Norman (‘transitional’?)	4-line staff (clefs in C & F)	English
Fr 1600	Missal	Violet, blue and red	Anglo-Norman	4-line staff (clefs in C & round-B)	English
Fr 1896	Missal	Violet, blue and red	Anglo-Norman	Loosely heightened (no staff)	Protogothic

That the twelfth-century manuscripts of Sweden would have their strongest connections to English and German sources has already been suggested, but the evidence of music staves furthers this even more. For example, the presence of at least some multi-coloured, ‘Guidonian’ staves would be expected if a strong Norman, central French or Rhenish scribal influence were indeed present in certain centres of Sweden, or if books from those regions were imported into Sweden. However, that there are none lends some support to the suggestion that the strongest scribal connections amongst these fragments are found in manuscripts specifically from England and southern Germany, as opposed to the Anglo-Norman and German regions generally.

The eleven remaining manuscript fragments all use unheightened neumes, and these are spread fairly evenly between sources which exhibit strong German or Anglo-Norman characteristics; their features are compared on Table 12.⁵³ Only three sources, Br 307 (Fr 22289), Br 576 (Fr 22727) and Mi 503 (Fr 27239), use a rounded pes, and this is the ‘ladle-shaped’ pes found in a number of fragments from the Småland

at least part of the twelfth century was to draw multi-coloured staves, and that a black staff was often used in the Lorraine; these practices were thoroughly replaced by the all-red staff only in the thirteenth century, quite possibly as a direct result of Franciscan and Dominican influence, both of which prescribed a red staff for their own music books. Michel Huglo, ‘Toward a scientific palaeography of music’ (2011), 15-19, esp. 16.

⁵³ Examples of the features mentioned on Table 12 are provided on Plates 7 through 9.

Table 12. Neumatic notation without staves in fragments from Västergötland accounts

Fragment	Type	Initials	Layout rulings	(—————From MPO—————)		
				Text	Neumes	Origin
Br 307 (Fr 22289)	Brev.	red, green, blue, violet	1-2-1, horizontals across page	English	German	?
Br 576 (Fr 22727)	Brev.	red, yellow	2-3-2, horizontals across page	Protog.	Anglo-Norman	Vadstena
Br 1246 (Fr 23625)	Brev.	red	?-?-? (no rulings visible)	Protog.	Anglo-Norman	Falköping
Br 1312 (Fr 23709)	Brev.	red, green	1-2-1, horizontals in writing area	English	Anglo-Norman	Skara
Br 1317 (Fr 23715)	Brev.	red	1-2-1, horizontals in writing area	German	Anglo-Norman	?
Br 1913 (Fr 24454)	Brev.	red	1-2-1, horizontals across page	German?	Anglo-Norman	?
Mi 455 (Fr 27176-8)	Mis.	red	1-2-1, horizontals in writing area ⁵⁴	English?	Anglo-Norman	?
Mi 459 (Fr 27184)	Mis.	red	?-? (no rulings visible) ⁵⁵	German	Anglo-Norman	?
Mi 503 (Fr 27239)	Mis.	red	1-2-1, horizontals across page	English?	German	Skara
Fr 1217	Mis.	red	?-?-? (no rulings visible)	Protog.	Anglo-Norman	?
Fr 1896	Mis.	red, blue, violet	?-?-? (no rulings visible)	Protog.	Anglo-Norman	?
Fr 2214	Mis.	red	1-2-1, horizontals across page	Protog.	Anglo-Norman	?

accounts and twelfth-century southern German sources such as those from Bamberg cathedral.⁵⁶ The rest use an upright, square pes with a particular scribal flourish that can be found in Anglo-Norman sources, such as the contemporary Canterbury pontifical Oxford, Magdalen College, Ms. 226, as well as a tendency toward scandicus and climacus shapes reminiscent of both that manuscript and Cambridge, Corpus Christi

⁵⁴ The first, middle and bottom horizontal lines are scored across the whole page.

⁵⁵ Mi 459 is the only example with a single-column layout.

⁵⁶ Miriam Wendling, 'Musical Notation in Bamberg 1007-1300' (2012), 113-34, esp. 126-29.

College, Ms. 44, from the latter part of the previous century.⁵⁷ When examining the various Bamberg scribes whose work survives from the eleventh and twelfth centuries—some of them brought in from other scribal centres around Germany—it can be seen that these particular neume shapes were not used.⁵⁸ However, the distinct Germanic ‘ladle’ shape can be seen in every example of a quilisma, as well as the first stroke of the torculus in every one of the fragments using an Anglo-Norman pes except Br 1305 (Fr 23700), Br 1312 (Fr 23709) and Br 1913 (Fr 24454). Moreover, Br 576, despite having the south German style of pes, nevertheless follows these Anglo-Norman features in other regards. These features in combination show a recognizable blending of Anglo-Norman and southern German scribal features in the notation, made more apparent when viewed in context with the fragments from the Småland accounts, where the ladle shape seems to have appeared first in the pes, then being adopted into the other shapes; this is precisely the case with Br 307 and Mi 503 from the Västergötland accounts, where the round ‘ladle-shaped’ pes is incorporated into every neume that begins with a two-note ascent. In these fragments, as in the similar fragments from Småland, the pes shape signifies not only a discrete neume (the pes), but a melodic relationship within any neume (the ‘pes function’ that can open a number of compound neumes). In the rest of the unheightened sources in the Västergötland accounts, where the standalone pes used an upright square shape, but the incorporated pes function used a rounded ladle shape, this visual relationship between discrete neume and abstract grammatical idea was not enforced.

Other features of layout of the unheightened sources cannot be grouped into clearly definable groups quite as easily: the two sources which primarily exhibit German influence in their notation use textual scripts that are English or influenced by English script, and whilst agreeing in their layouts, differ in their use of colouring; the fragments which show strong English influence in their notation can have English, German, or an as yet unidentified ‘generic protogothic’ script, can use any number of ruling styles, and vary in their use of colouring—although primarily use a single-colour scheme using all red initials. Moreover, the two fragments which come directly from the

⁵⁷ For some plates and a comparison of neumes in these sources, see Thomas Kozachek, ‘Tonal neumes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pontificals’ (1997), 134-38.

⁵⁸ Wendling, ‘Musical Notation in Bamberg 1007-1300’ (2012), 75-127, esp. 87-90 and 112.

accounts of Skara, Mi 503 and Br 1312, differ in almost every respect: in neumatic script, layout, and colouring. Indeed, the manuscript fragment which most readily agrees in its layout to Mi 503 is Br 307, except that the breviary uses a very English four-colour scheme in its initials involving violet. Fr 1896 uses a similar colour scheme but different notation, and the only fragment which seems to readily follow Neil Ker's rule that twelfth-century English manuscripts should generally have double bounding lines is Br 576 from the accounts of Vadstena, although the horizontal lines break the second part of that rule by being drawn clear across the page rather than within the writing area only.⁵⁹

2.2 Descriptions of fragments with staffed notation

The following section features a series of case studies on select manuscript fragments, all attached to the accounts of Vasa Sweden, all from the twelfth or very early thirteenth century and containing staffed notation. Each of these manuscripts was used to bind various governing accounts between c. 1550-1600. For reasons discussed earlier in the chapter, all are assumed to have been in Sweden, perhaps even in use, for an indeterminate amount of time prior to their confiscation by the Vasa bailiffs. In some cases the local provenance of their account bindings can be used to locate where in Sweden the book was held, but none of them can be fixed to a specific Swedish use to help confirm these hypotheses.

In general, the layout features of the staffed manuscript fragments mirror those with unstaffed neumes, with only two exceptions: first, the twelfth-century fragments with staffed neumes are largely in two-column format, though single-column examples do exist; second, they generally use initials of alternating colours, rather than all-red. Otherwise, no distinct differences in layout or ruling can be seen. In fact, there seems to be no evidence at all for any of the experimental ruling formats for music manuscripts that John Haines has tied to the twelfth century.⁶⁰ Haines has showed how standard ruling formats were at odds with layouts that required frequent alternations between music and large blocks of text, and he has divided the stages of experimentation toward a set of widely accepted music manuscript layouts into three historical phases. What he

⁵⁹ Cf. page 68.

⁶⁰ John Haines, 'The Origins of the Musical Staff' (2008), *passim*; discussed in detail below.

calls a Phase 1 layout was simply to use the standard method of preparing and ruling manuscript parchment: the vertical prickings along the outer margins were made at even intervals to each other, straight down the page, which were then used as the guides for scoring the parchment with horizontal rulings to help the scribe write evenly, giving the writing area of the parchment a visual effect much like modern lined notepaper.⁶¹ For a music manuscript with staff notation, the rulings lines might be spaced much wider, so that both text and a music staff could be copied within the line, or multiple ruling lines might be used to create the staff, one ruling line per staff line. Since unheightened neumes are written with no (or only a little) vertical spacing, very little extra space is required to add them above a text, making this ruling format quite convenient: a chant text that is written with a smaller minim height can include unheightened neumes above it without having to add extra rulings or skip any text lines. This is the format that all of the unstaffed fragments use in the MPO collection, without exception.

Throughout the twelfth century a number of experimental layouts were tried to better prepare parchment for both music and text, and Haines sees this as the second major period of development, or 'Phase 2'. Due to an increased preference for making spatial ratios within a manuscript conform closely to the golden ratio (e.g., a music-to-text ratio of something around 5:3), Haines argues, scribes needed to create special pricking patterns designed specifically for manuscripts with music: this might have included making every fourth or fifth pricking noticeably wider than the others to designate the text line, or perhaps making the pricking for the text line off to the side, adding a second pricking next to it, or often both.⁶² Haines argues that Phase 2 layouts were fuelled by the bibliophile efforts of the Cistercians and Carthusians; in fact, no twelfth-century fragments in the MPO have been found with evidence of any of these preparation methods, despite the prominent role of Cistercian houses in Sweden from the 1140s on, and the establishment of the Carthusians in Sweden later in the century.⁶³

⁶¹ *Idem*, 340-46.

⁶² *Idem*, 348-54. The Carthusians in particular favoured adjusting the spacing and vertical alignment of the text-line pricking. The order was established in Sweden by the late twelfth century.

⁶³ *Idem*, 346-47 and 357-58. It should also be pointed out that experimental ruling patterns for music manuscripts may have been influenced in part by other developments in scribal culture, such as those coming from the new urban university cultures with which the Cistercians were familiar. Additionally, much of what Haines ascribes to

The third phase, which Haines argues emerged at the start of the thirteenth century and generally lasted throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, was the culmination of the most successful of the previous century. It featured a ‘neat and compact all-red staff’, but had abandoned the various special pricking patterns: rather, scribes reverted to the same even and equidistant pricking patterns of the Phase 1 layout (and in general, non-musical parchment layouts); when music was needed, the text scribe skipped two or three lines (most often two), and a standardized four-line, red staff was then drawn in the extra space provided, without actually being guided by any prickings of its own.⁶⁴ All of the fragments in the MPO with staffed notation seem to follow this Phase 3 style of ruling, even those from the twelfth century. They all use two ruling lines per system, one for the music and one for the text. The staff is always guided by the ruling line, with the second staff line from the bottom drawn evenly with the ruling line.

Aside from the production methods, the scribal characteristics of each fragment are analysed, and their liturgical contents are explored for regional peculiarities.

2.2.1 Mi 580

Mi 580 is a missal fragment from the twelfth century. Three bifolio fragments have been identified from the missal, all of which were attached to Ångermanland provincial accounts between 1562 and 70.⁶⁵ The hand of the text scribe has been described by Michael Gullick as Anglo-French in type, which uses the *punctus versus* for final punctuation.⁶⁶ Two of the fragments include portions from both the sanctorale and the temporale. Though the third fragment, Fr 27374, was in restoration and not

Phase 2 design may be less characteristic of the new monastic orders in general, and more to do with regional features; with the exception of two sources—a Jumièges missal (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A.401 [catalogue 267]) and a troper from Beauvais (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acq. lat. 1064)—all of Haine’s examples are uniformly English in origin. Rouen Ms. 267 is discussed again on page 116.

⁶⁴ John Haines, ‘The Origins of the Musical Staff’ (2008), 357-69, esp. 359-62.

⁶⁵ Fr 2772=27373, Fr 8859 and Fr 27374. The MPO lists Fr 2772 and Fr 27373 as separate fragments, but they are in fact duplicate entries for the same item. To avoid confusion it will be called here Fr 2772=27373.

⁶⁶ Michael Gullick, ‘Riksarkivet fragments’ (unpublished manuscript provided to the author 11 August, 2014), entry for Fr 2772 *et al.* (= Mi 580).

available for study at the time of writing, the other two provide enough palaeographical and liturgical evidence to demonstrate several points argued throughout this chapter.

Fr 2772=27373 presents material for feasts from the sanctorale, including those for Lawrence (10 August), Tiburtius (11 August), Hippolytus (13 August), Sabina (29 August), Felix and Adauctus (30 August), Sixtus and Sinnicius (1 September), Priscus (1 September), Giles (1 September) and the Nativity of Mary (8 September). The gap between Hippolytus and Sabina was originally filled by other folios from its gathering. The most characteristic of these feasts is that for Ss Sixtus and Sinnicius, the first two bishops of Reims. Aside from their obvious connection to Reims, the pair were also considered to have established the diocese of Soissons, and St Sixtus had also been the patron saint of Hamburg cathedral during Ansgar's time. According to Adam of Bremen, Ansgar brought the relics of Sixtus and Sinnicius to Hamburg from Reims, where they stayed until the town's destruction in 845, when Ansgar fled with the relics and deposited them in a monastery at Ramelsloh.⁶⁷ Bernhard Schmeidler interpreted this event as the last time St Sixtus was ever associated with Hamburg, a belief echoed by Eric Knibbs much more recently.⁶⁸ However, Eric Niblaeus has attributed the feast as having distinct associations with the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, on account of the relics having once been at Hamburg.⁶⁹ Jan Brunius has made the same assertion, and has gone as far as to suggest that Mi 580 was probably written in Bremen based on the presence of the feast for Sixtus and Sinnicius.⁷⁰

The folios of Mi 580 contain masses for the fourth and fifth Sundays after Easter and a series of antiphons for Monday in Rogationtide.⁷¹ Comparisons of these feasts

⁶⁷ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (2002), 25 and 28.

⁶⁸ Bernhard Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (1918), 208. Eric Knibbs, *Ansgar, Rimbert and the forged foundations of Hamburg-Bremen* (2011), 106. In referring to the disappearance of a cult for St Sixtus in Hamburg, it is not entirely clear whether Knibbs was citing Schmeidler or Adam of Bremen himself; in either case, Knibbs made the assertion without reference, and Adam of Bremen only wrote that St Ansgar deposited their relics at Ramelsloh.

⁶⁹ Eric Niblaeus, 'German influence on religious practice in Scandinavia, c. 1050-1150' (2010), 18.

⁷⁰ Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 56. The missal fragment briefly features in a discussion of sources in the MPO that were possibly made in Germany (53-57), and reflects an earlier attribution of provenance made by Toni Schmid in the CCM (see MPO, Fr 2772).

⁷¹ Fr 8859, fol. 1r-2v.

with two well-documented liturgical traditions in England, those of Sarum and Hereford (which was itself quite similar to Sarum in most respects), show that Mi 580 has only slight concordances with either. The prayers for the masses are the same as those in the same three Hereford missals that have parallels with Codex 1316 *et al.*, as well as Legg's 'A' and 'B' sources of the five Sarum missals in his edition.⁷² This includes the secret for the fourth Sunday after Easter, 'Deus qui per huius sacrificii ueneranda...', which comes from the Gregorian Sacramentary.⁷³ Other sources of the Sarum Missal use another prayer, 'Deus qui resurgens ex mortuis passione...'.⁷⁴ The chants, however, do not fully reflect either use. For the fourth Sunday after Easter, Mi 580 provides two alleluia verses, *Uado ad eum* and *Surrexit christus qui creauit*.⁷⁵ Between Sarum and Hereford sources, either two or three verses are given, with *Uado ad eum* as the first, followed by one or both of *Ego ueritatem* and *Surrexit dominus uere*; the verse *Surrexit christus qui creauit* is instead used in the third and fifth Sundays after Easter.⁷⁶ In the Monday liturgy of Rogationtide the differences are even more extreme. Only nine antiphons from the procession survive, but none of them have any parallels in Sarum or Hereford sources.⁷⁷ Each antiphon begins with the rubric 'Ora pro nobis', but are otherwise without indication of where in the procession they belong—for example, 'ad pluuiam postulandam' or 'pro serenitate'. However, two of the antiphons, *Non nos demergat* and *Timor et tremor uenit*, can both be found elsewhere towards the end of the procession, 'pro serenitate'.⁷⁸ The antiphon *Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum* sits

⁷² For more on Codex 1316 *et al.*, see section 2.2.4 below. The Hereford sources are: Oxford, University College, Ms. 78A; Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F.161; and Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. SEL. A. 50. 3. The Sarum sources are: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 135; and Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms. 2565.

⁷³ H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (1915), 167. The prayer was retained in the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*: see Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1 (1972), 388.

⁷⁴ John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 149.

⁷⁵ MPO, Fr 8859, fol. 1r.

⁷⁶ John Wickam Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916) 148 and 150; William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015), 147.

⁷⁷ *Dimitte domine peccata populi tui, Exaudi deus deprecationem nostram, Inclina domine aurem tuam et audi respice, Ierusalem ciuitas ornamentis, Non nos demergat, Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum patrem, Arcangelus domini michel comitetur and Timor et tremor uenit in niniuem.* Fr 8859, fol. 2r-v.

⁷⁸ Salamanca, Universidad, Archivo y Biblioteca, Ms. 2637, fol. 119r, a twelfth-century missal notated with the Portuguese variety of Aquitanian heightened neumes. See

between these two, however, and its text is very general: in fact, the text is borrowed directly from one of the prayers of Good Friday.⁷⁹ The prayer asks for general protection from a wide variety of misfortunes, which is something that would be more fitting at the beginning or very end of the procession, not between two antiphons of rather specific character. For example, in the Sarum Missal the antiphons of the procession begin with four general antiphons, then one ‘*ad pluuiam postulandam*’, one ‘*pro serenitate aeris*’, one ‘*contra mortalitatem*’, one ‘*contra hostium impugnacionem*’ and finally one general antiphon, ‘*quacumque tribulacione*’.⁸⁰ In general, the liturgical content of Mi 580 shows similarities to Hereford and to a certain extent Sarum, but perhaps not enough to warrant any explicit assertions until further comparisons are made with other English and continental liturgies.

The notation of Mi 580 uses an Anglo-French style of staffed neumatic notation, although the style is in many respects closer to the square notation of the thirteenth century than the staffed neumes of the early twelfth century: with the exception of a small variety of liquescents, the scribe had abandoned almost every neume shape that would not be carried over into the square notation of the next century. Even the torculus—whose early forms, judging from the sources studied here, seem to have held out quite a long time even as other ‘complex’ neumes were being rapidly dropped from staffed notation—was drawn only with the methodical, square-and-line presentation of later sources (Figure 1a).

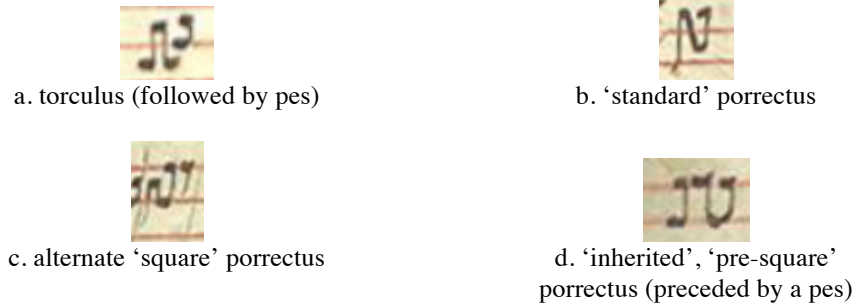
The scribe’s porrectus, on the other hand, provides interesting insight into the transition that took place from ‘staffed neumes’ to ‘square notation’, and where along

Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, vol. 2 (2002), 1007-1008.

⁷⁹ H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (1915), 52. The prayer continued to be used in Sarum sources, though the chant was not used: John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 111. The text reads ‘*Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum patrem omnipotentem ut cunctis mundu[m] purget erroribus morbos auferat famem repellat aperiat carceres uincla disoluat peregrinantibus reditum infirmantibus sanitatem nauigantibus portum salutis aperiat [et] pacem tribuat indiebus nostris insurgentes q[ui] repellat i[n]imicos [et] de manu inferni liberet nos propter nomen suum alleluia.*’

⁸⁰ John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 150-51.

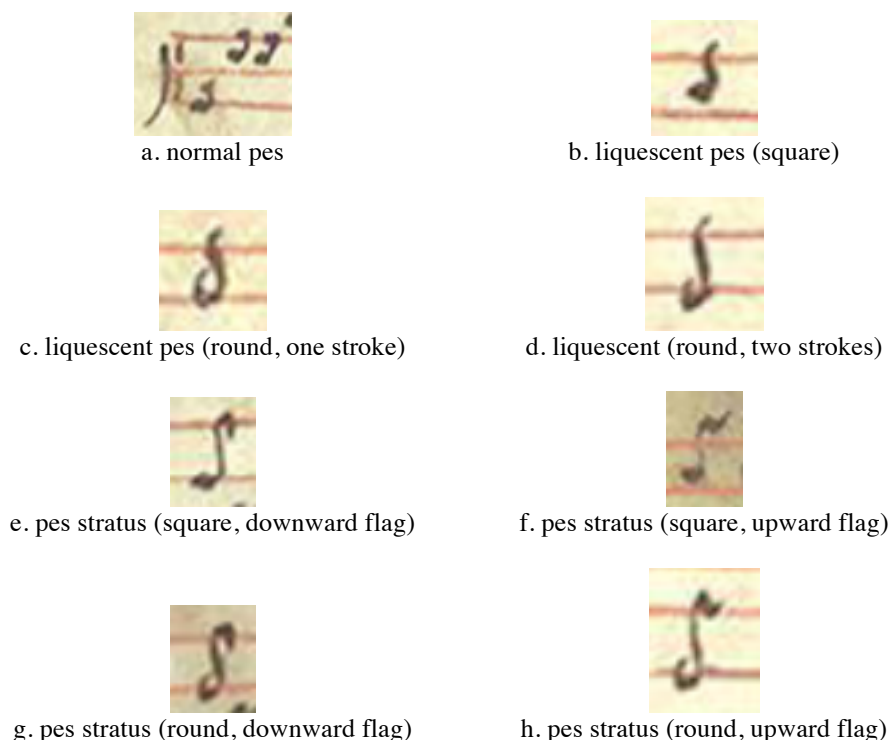
Figure 1. Forms of the torculus and porrectus in Mi 580 (Fr 8859, fol. 2r)



this transition the scribe sat at the time of production. In almost all instances the scribe used the form standard in square notation, with the distinct oblique line to represent the first two pitches (Figure 1b). On a few rare occasions, however, he replaced the oblique line with individual connected noteheads, just as he would draw the torculus or any other neume (Figure 1c). On even more occasions he used a third form whose appearance conjures up an earlier, 'pre-square' form of the porrectus, a carry-over from when individual neume shapes did not need to have square noteheads to express their meanings (Figure 1d). That he chose multiple ways of expressing the same shape does not necessarily show indecision or lack of training on the scribe's part; in fact, it shows a certain comfort with the way in which the shape and meaning of the neume symbols interact. The standard oblique form of the porrectus was the only common neume in the scribe's repertory that broke the rule of one square per note, and all notes connected by a straight, vertical line. It is reasonable to assume that this special exception did not escape his notice, nor that the exception was not technically necessary for the porrectus to express accurate musical meaning.

Perhaps more than the porrectus, the scribe's most variable feature is in the expression of liquescence in the pes, which were executed with considerable irregularity. His normal pes, by contrast, is always square and quite uniform in appearance (Figure 2a). The only instance in which a round pes can be seen is when a 'special' pes is drawn: as a liquescent, or as a pes stratus, and so on. On Fr 8859, fol. 1, the neume is found as a square liquescent (Figure 2b), a round liquescent in two styles

Figure 2. Forms of the pes in Mi 580 (Fr 8859, fol. 1rv)



(Figures 2c and 2d), as a square pes stratus in two styles (Figures 2e and 2f), and as a round pes stratus in two styles (Figures 2g and 2h). In most cases these forms are found across the semitone (A-C or E-G, and occasionally D-F), although larger intervals of a fourth or fifth also occur (G-C and D-A).⁸¹ The large intervals always use the square pes stratus with upward flag (Figure 2e), and may be simply a calligraphic variant of the normal pes, which is also used to express fourth and fifth intervals; however, the other intervals give the impression that the neume is connected in some way to the semitones B-C and E-F. Melodic comparisons show that the syllables using a liquescent or otherwise ‘special’ form of the pes can be interpreted as two or three notes in other sources. This is especially the case with the pes stratus, which is perhaps typical of that

⁸¹ E-G occurs on fol. 1v, column one, line 10, at ‘*nostram*’; G-B occurs on fol. 2r, column two, last line; D-F occurs on fol. 2v, column one, lines 1, 3 and 5; G-C and D-A occur on fol. 2v, last lines of columns one and two.

Figure 3. Comparison of *Dum uenerit paraclitus*



	Fr 8859, fol. 1v (first line)	(second line)	(third line)
Mi 580			
	p. 73 (first line)	(second line)	(third line)
Braga 34			
	fol. 118r (first line)	(second line)	(second line)
Lisboa 84			

Mi 580: Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 8859 (12th-century)

Braga 34: Braga, Arquivo da Sé, Ms. 34 (1510-1515, Braga)

Lisboa 84: Lisboa, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, Iluminado 84 (c. 1400, Sens)

Spellings in the transcription reflect those in the sources.

neume.⁸² For example, both the communion chant for the fourth Sunday after Easter, *Dum uenerit paraclitus*, and the introit for the fifth Sunday, *Uocem iocunditatis annunciate*, contain multiple versions of the pes stratus or liquescent pes: where the liquescent pes is used, it is likely to be a two-note figure in other manuscripts, as well;

⁸² David Hiley, *Western plainchant* (1993), 360-61.

Figure 4. Comparison of Uocem iocunditatis annunciate



Fr 8859, fol. 1v (first line)

Mi 580

Uo - cem_ io - cun - di - ta - tis an - nun - ci - a - te_____

p. 73 (first line)

Braga 34

Uo - cem_ io - cun - di - ta - tis an - nun - ti - a_ te_____

fol. 118v (first line)

Lisboa 84

Uo - cem_ io - cun - di - ta - tis an - nun - ci - a - te_____

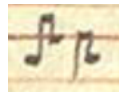
Mi 580: Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Fr 8859 (12th-century)
 Braga 34: Braga, Arquivo da Sé, Ms. 34 (1510-1515, Braga)
 Lisboa 84: Lisboa, Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, Iluminado 84 (c. 1400, Sens)
 Spellings in the transcription reflect those in the sources.

where the pes stratus is used, it is across a semitone and can be either a two or three note figure (Figures 3 and 4).⁸³ The interval is usually a semitone or a semiditone, which may explain the neume's use. In fact, the only intervals within the span of a fifth that do not occur with this neume are tones and ditones; in other words, the two intervals between a semitone and a fifth used in chant that do not feature a semitone. However, an interval of a fourth or fifth would have to contain a semitone regardless, and so altering the neume to account for a semitone within these intervals seems pointless. To confuse the problem even further, there are many instances in which the scribe wrote precisely the same intervals as those mentioned above, but still chose to draw a normal pes.

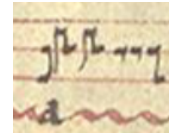
The clivis is standardized with only one form, which is again the 'standard' form of the clivis in early square notation (Figure 5a). Its contour is clearly descended from the round form, but in actuality its shape has more to do with the square clivis in terms of aesthetic and function. The initial upstroke of the neume has become only a decorative tail rather a vital identifier of the neume's shape and function; instead, the most important aspects of the neume are the two square notes joined together on either side of a connecting line. In some ways, its shape is more of an adaptation of the torculus, which also follows the same point-to-point appearance that would become the hallmark of square notation in the next century. In fact, when drawing the clivis the scribe occasionally chose not to draw the initial upstroke at all, usually when it was immediately preceded by one or more virgae at the same pitch (Figure 5b). When the left tail is not drawn, the visual connection to the traditional square clivis is obvious. Both, after all, approach the problem of representing their melodic meaning in the same way: where the round clivis combines the specific meanings of previous symbols (the virga and the punctum) to create a new meaning that is unique to the new symbol, the square form of the neume (and the clivis of square notation) instead draws upon a larger meaning—that of the concept of vertically aligning pitch intervals—by using a shape that leads the eye left to right and top to bottom, from one fixed location to another.

⁸³ Figures 3 and 4 compare Mi 580 to two later manuscripts from Sens and Braga. *Dum uenerit paraclitus* was common in the office as a responsory and antiphon but with different melodies (Cantus IDs 006566 and 002478), while the communion chant appears in far fewer sources spread across Europe, and with some distinct melodic variations (Cantus ID g01066). The Braga and Sens manuscripts have very similar melodies to that found in Mi 580, hence their selection here.

Figure 5. Forms of the clivis in Mi 580 (Fr 8859, fol. 1r)



a. normal clivis (preceded by a torculus)



b. clives with and without tail (at end)

2.2.2 Br 12 + Codex 763

Br 12 is a breviary fragment from the second half of the twelfth century.⁸⁴ The first of its two bifolio fragments, Fr 3008, survives in the 1563 accounts for Norrland, specifically its northwestern region known as Lappmarken. This large region comprised modern Lapland, Västerbotten, Jämtland and Härjedalen; in other words, the northern territories which traditionally were populated by the Sami and Kvens. The second fragment, Fr 21718, was used between 1562 and 1564 to bind accounts for two longstanding parishes local to Uppsala, Vaksala and Rasbo.⁸⁵ It is possible that Fr 3008 was bound in Norrland, but the more likely possibility is that both fragments were held in Uppsala, which was more populous, more accessible and no doubt had superior administrative facilities.

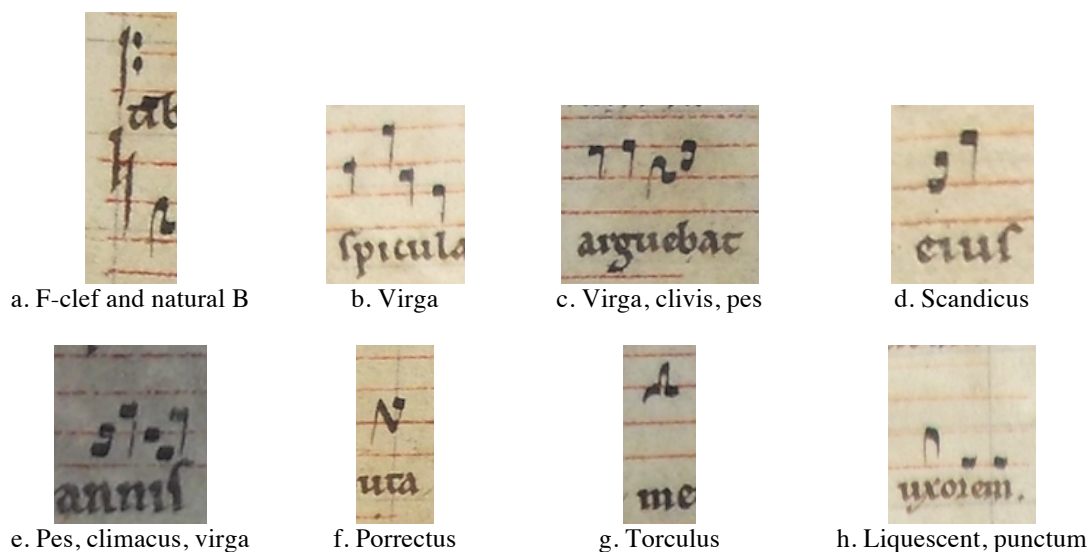
The entries for each fragment of Br 12 in the MPO compare the script to that of Codex 763, another group of breviary fragments, but I believe it can be demonstrated that these are all actually part of a single manuscript.⁸⁶ The layout of both Br 12 and

⁸⁴ Examples of Br 12 + Codex 763 are given on Plates 11 through 13. The MPO lists the manuscript as late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century, but Michael Gullick, 'Riksarkivet fragments' (unpublished manuscript provided to the author 11 August, 2014) attributes it to the second half of the twelfth.

⁸⁵ The stone church at Vaksala was built in the latter half of the twelfth century, making it roughly contemporary with the establishment of the church at Uppsala in 1164: 'Uppsala Vaksala: Vaksala kyrka', in *BeBR* (<http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/byggnad/visaHistorik.raa?byggnadId=2140000444510&page=historik>, accessed 28 June, 2016). Rasbo parish was built later, after 1240: 'Uppsala Rasbo: Rasbo kyrka', in *BeBR* (<http://www.bebyggelseregistret.raa.se/bbr2/byggnad/visaHistorik.raa?byggnadId=2140000444498&page=historik>, accessed 28 June, 2016).

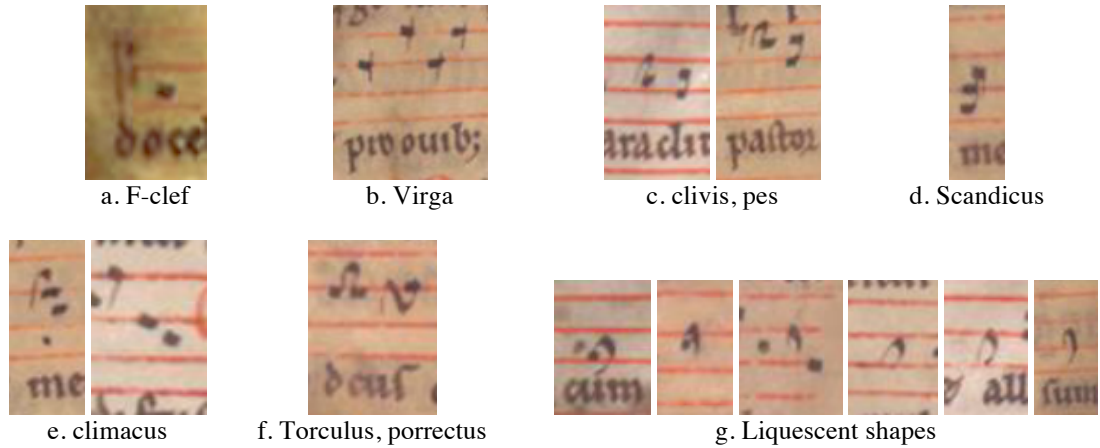
⁸⁶ Codex 763 currently includes Fr 150, Fr 5476, Fr 5616, Fr 5630, Fr 7766, Fr 8921 and Fr 9334.

Figure 6. Examples of music scribal hand A in Br 12 + Codex 763 (Fr 21718, fols. 1r-v)



Codex 763 is in two columns, with 35 dry ruled lines spaced very evenly at 7.8 mm apart. Their prickings were made on both the outer and inner margins, and the vertical ruling—a two-column layout with bounding lines arranged 2-3-2—creates double-bounding lines that are all equally spaced at 7.8 mm. The writing areas themselves are 78mm wide, equal to ten line spaces. The scribal hands share common features between the two manuscripts: both feature the same distinct colouring and ornamentations to the large initials, and both use an Anglo-French textual and musical script, though the scribal hands are not always the same (see Plates 11-13). A total of two music hands (music hands A and B, Figures 6 and 7) and two text hands can be seen in Br 12; each hand is also found in two folio fragments from Codex 763, as well as a third text hand (text hands A, B and C, Plate 13). The two music hands, though distinct, used the same palaeographical shapes in their notation, with only two exceptions: in the torculus, scribe A created the first stroke with the curled stroke also seen in Codex 70, whose notation resembles northeastern French sources (Figure 6g), while scribe B used simple squares for both feet (Figure 7f); additionally, scribe A made use of a B-clef, while scribe B consistently kept his staff centred on an F-clef. Both of their F-clefs were constructed identically, however.

Figure 7. Examples of music scribal hand B in Br 12 + Codex 763 (Fr 3008, fols. 1r-2v)



Fr 5476, one of the fragments from Codex 763, contains a section of the temporale ending in the middle of the second Sunday after Easter, and though there is a gap in material between them, Fr 3008 from Br 12 begins with continued material from that feast (Table 13). Fr 3008 also terminates toward the beginning of the feast of Pentecost, which is where another fragment from Codex 763, Fr 5616, begins—again, after a brief lacuna. The same scribal hands for both music and text occur throughout all three of these fragments (music hand B and text hand B). Furthermore, the remaining five fragments of Codex 763, which do not match scribal hands with Br 12, come from different sections of the temporal and sanctoral calendars: they feature temporal material from Advent through Epiphany, and sanctoral feasts from 21 January (St Agnes) to 21 March (St Benedict), as well as 1 November (All Saints) to 30 November (St Andrew); the other fragment from Br 12 however, Fr 21718, contains saints' feasts from 24 August (Bartholomew) to 8 September (Nativity of Mary) and does feature the same hands.

Table 13. Liturgical contents of Br 12 + Codex 763, with comparison of scribal hands

Date		Text Feast	Music hand	Fragment hand	location
Temporale		Advent	A	A	Fr 9334
Temporale		Epiphany	A	A	Fr 5630
Temporale		Easter to 2nd Sunday after Easter	B	B	Fr 5476
Temporale		2nd Sunday after Easter to Pentecost	B	B	Fr 3008
Temporale		Pentecost to Sunday after Pentecost	B	B	Fr 5616
January	21	Agnes	A	A	Fr 7766
	22	Vincent	A	A	Fr 7766
February	2	Purification of Mary	A	A	Fr 150
	22	Chair of St Peter	A	A	Fr 150
March	12	Gregory	A	A	Fr 150
	20	Cuthbert	A	A	Fr 150
	21	Benedict	A	A	Fr 150
August	24	Bartholomew	B	B	Fr 21718
		Audoen	B	B	Fr 21718
	28	Augustine of Hippo	B	B	Fr 21718
	29	Beheading of John the Baptist	B	B	Fr 21718
	29	Sabina	B	B	Fr 21718
	30	Felix and Adauctus	B	B	Fr 21718
September	1	Giles	B	B	Fr 21718
	3	Remaclus	B	B	Fr 21718
	5	Bertin	B	B	Fr 21718
	8	Nativity of Mary	B	B	Fr 21718
November	1	All Saints	A	A and C	Fr 8921
	30	Andrew	A	A and C	Fr 8921

These calendar dates are all distant enough from each other that they would have been contained in separate gatherings, almost assuredly with multiple other gatherings between them. From the available fragments, it appears that the different hands alternated together in sections, though whether these sections were contained within single gatherings cannot be determined. The artist of the large initials, meanwhile, worked throughout the book alongside both pairs of hands. A third hand, text hand C, also wrote in the section with the first musical hand (music hand A), for the November saints' feasts in Fr 8921. Since the scribal hands seem to have been done in consistent

pairs—music scribe A with text scribe A, and music scribe B with text scribe B—it is quite possible that the hands actually represent two scribes who copied both text and music.

Attaching Br 12 into Codex 763 complicates the evidence for the manuscript's origin and provenance, since the post-medieval attachments for Codex 763's other fragments are much more scattered. They include, for example, accounts for Småland (1559 and 1562), Östergötland (1562) and Stockholm (1559), as well as various royal accounts between 1557 and 1563.⁸⁷ That the archival provenances of Br 12 and Codex 763 would be so close together in date, but scattered in geography, suggests that it was likely to have been held centrally in Stockholm and was used to cover whatever local documents came to the royal court without wrappers of their own.⁸⁸

A total of nineteen sanctoral feasts survive from the combined manuscript, and this helps to reconstruct a small portion of the breviary's calendar. Included are the saints Cuthbert, Audoen, Giles, Remaclus, and Bertin. Cuthbert cult was already ubiquitous in England prior to the Conquest, and in any case Codex 763 clearly lacks the 4 September feast of his translation, which is likely to have been transmitted as well if his cult was directly influenced by York or Durham.⁸⁹ John Toy has shown that in Scandinavia the feast for St Cuthbert generally followed the use of York more closely than Durham, but it is impossible to weigh this generality against Codex 763, as the breviary only contains a single collect.⁹⁰ The collect given in Codex 763 is taken from the mass ('Collect A' in Toy's usage), which does seem to concord with the Durham office over York.⁹¹ Had the feasts of other prominent northern saints survived in Codex

⁸⁷ Fr 150 (Östergötlands handlingar 1562), Fr 5616 and Fr 5630 (Smålands handlingar 1562), Fr 5476 (Smålands handlingar 1559), Fr 7766 (Varuhus och handling 23:4 Stockholm 1558-1559), Fr 8921 (Skattkammaren 1:3 1557-1563), and Fr 9334 (Strödda kamerala handlingar 1:15 1560).

⁸⁸ Cf. page 29.

⁸⁹ Of more than two dozen calendars (most from the eleventh century) surveyed in Rebecca Rushforth, *An atlas of saints in Anglo-Saxon calendars* (2002), all of them list Cuthbert's feast.

⁹⁰ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 104.

⁹¹ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 97. Toy's sources for the Durham and York offices are Christopher Hohler and Andrew Hughes, 'The Durham services in honour of St Cuthbert' (1956), 155-91, and the 1493 printed York breviary, Stephen Willoughby Lawley, *Breviarium ad usum insignis*

763 then it would be possible to surmise a distinct northern influence, but unfortunately Cuthbert's is the only one whose date occurs within the surviving portion of the breviary's sanctorale. Therefore, it is impossible to tell whether Cuthbert's presence shows a specific northern influence or merely a general English influence, or even an international universal that included Cuthbert's cult in Germany.⁹²

As much as St Cuthbert's feast cannot be used to argue specifically for a connection with Northern England, the presence of the four French saints in Codex 763—Audoen, Giles, Remaclus and Bertin—do not necessarily indicate a direct French influence either. St Audoen and St Bertin are present in all of the Anglo-Saxon calendars Rushforth used in her comparative study. St Giles and St Remaclus, on the other hand, seem to have been imported only from the twelfth century, as they are only found in London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, a pre-Conquest sacramentary from the southwest of England which itself possibly betrays continental—specifically, Lotharingian—influence.⁹³ Christ Church Canterbury had acquired St Audoen's relics in the early eleventh century, and a mid- twelfth-century calendar for St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester also indicates a major feast for him.⁹⁴ In Codex 763 his office is placed directly after St Bartholomew on 25 August, rather than 24 August. This was the practice in France, but was also adopted in England after the Conquest, as a result of the first council of Lanfranc's archiepiscopate, held at Winchester in April 1072; prior to this, in churches where Audoen's feast was dated to 25 August it was the custom simply to celebrate Bartholomew's feast instead, rather than both together.⁹⁵ The

Ecclesie Eboracensis (1880-83), 222-23. The haphazard disparity of date between the English and Scandinavian sources has restricted Toy from being able to make any greater claims than to say that 'so far' York seems to be closest parent, but locating any one place of transmission is at present too difficult.

⁹² A similar dynamic can be seen in the cult of St Oswald of Northumbria, whose cult also was celebrated in Germany, especially along the Rhine. See Chapter 3.2.

⁹³ The manuscript may have been connected to Bishop Giso, who presumably would have been influenced by the liturgy of his native Lorraine; Rebecca Rushforth, *An atlas of saints in Anglo-Saxon calendars* (2002), 36. The sacramentary's calendar is also notable for the distinctive inclusion of the Welsh saint Congar (27 November). Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (2001), no. 400 (p. 72) suggested that the sacramentary may reflect the use of Wells.

⁹⁴ Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy of medieval England* (2009), 92, 104, and 189-90.

⁹⁵ Martin Brett, 'A collection of Anglo-Norman councils', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26 (1975), 303-04.

feast of St Remaclus is found in the original calendar layer of Ms. Cotton Vitellius A.xviii, although here he is with St Mansuetus, rather than by himself; the calendar's post-Conquest additions—much of it Norman in character, which in Pfaff's view demonstrates an attempt to align with Norman political interests—include both St Audoen's main feast on 24 August and his translation on 5 April.⁹⁶ Calendars for Christ Church, Canterbury include both St Giles and St Bertin, as well as St Cuthbert, but not St Remaclus.⁹⁷ Winchester traditionally kept a feast for St Bertin, who also is present in the (very) early fifteenth-century Sherborne Missal (British Library, Additional Ms. 74236); Pfaff has suggested that the calendar for BL, Add. 74326 contains strong Winchester, and even Anglo-Saxon, elements, explaining St Bertin's presence in the calendar.⁹⁸

In all, the best evidence for localizing the liturgy in Br 12 + Codex 763 is in the unusual presence of offices for both Cuthbert and Remaclus, the former suggesting an English influence and the latter a Frankish influence. Since both saints can also be found throughout Scandinavia sources, it can be suggested, although only tentatively, that the breviary is itself of Scandinavian origin.

2.2.3 Br 1675

There is only one fragment known to survive from Br 1675, a bifolio that was attached to the Småland provincial accounts of 1567, Fr 24153.⁹⁹ The fragment, which fortunately survived serious fire damage in very good condition, contains the *Tenebrae* services for Holy Saturday almost complete and uninterrupted, from the first lesson of matins to the end of lauds, and ends with the opening antiphons of vespers for Easter Sunday. Table 14 provides a full list of the services in Br 1675.

⁹⁶ Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy of medieval England* (2009), 124-26, and Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (1988), no. 8.

⁹⁷ Richard Pfaff, 'The Calendar' (1992), 67 and 71.

⁹⁸ Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy of medieval England* (2009), 238-40.

⁹⁹ Reproductions of Br 1675 can be found on Plates 19 through 21.

Table 14. Contents of Br 1675 (Fr 24153)

The table below lists the contents of Br 1675, compared to the following Sarum sources: London, British Library, Ms. Add. 52359, fols. 147v-150v (breviary), London, British Library, Stowe Ms. 12, fols. 84v-86v (breviary), Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), Ms. 20541 E, fols. 93r-95v (antiphoner), and Cambridge, University Library, Mm.2.9, pp. 229-34 (antiphoner). Bold entries show where the Sarum sources differ, with the difference shown in parentheses.

HOLY SATURDAY

MATINS

Lc.1	...Lamentations 2:15 (<i>LBL Add. 52359 and Stowe Ms. 12 = GIMEL</i>)
R.	Sepulto domino
V.	Ne forte uenient
Lc. 2	Lam. 2:17 (as TAV=AIN) (<i>LBL Add. 52359 and Stowe Ms. 12 = DELETH</i>) Lam. 2:18 (as THE=SADE) (<i>LBL Add. 52359 = VAU</i>)
R.	Recessit pastor
V.	Ante cuius conspectum
Lc. 3	Lam. 2:21 (as HE=SEN) (<i>LBL Add. 52359 = ZAI</i>) Lam. 2:22 (as NVN=THAU) (<i>LBL Add. 52359 = IOTH</i>) Lam. 3:5 (as TAU) (Stowe Ms. 12 = ; LBL Add. 52359 = Lam. 3:4) Lam. 3:6 (as SETH=BETH) (Stowe Ms. 12 = ; Add. 52359 = n/a)
R.	Agnus dei christus
V.	Christus factus est
A.	Eleuamini porte Ps. Domini est terra
A.	Credo uidere bona Ps. Dominus illiminato
A.	Domine abstraxisti Ps. Exaltabo te
V.	Tu autem domine.
Lc. 4	Augustine, Sermon 223/I
R.	Sicut ouis ad occisionem
V.	Ipsa autem uulneratus
Lc. 5	Augustine, Sermon 223/I (Add. 52359 = last lines moved to Lc. 6)
R.	Ecce quomodo moritur
V.	In pace factus est
Lc. 6	Augustine, Sermon 223/I (Add. 52359 = ends early)
R.	Ierusalem luge
V.	Deduc quasi
A.	Deus adiuuat me Ps. Deus in nomine
A.	In pace factus Ps. notus in iudea
A.	Factus sum sicut Ps. Domine deus salutis
V.	Collacauit me (incipit only) (<i>Add. 52359 and Stowe Ms. 12 = Ps. In obscuris</i>)
Lc. 7	Bede, Homilia 4
R.	Plange quasi uirgo
V.	Accingite nos (Sarum = Ululate pastores)
Lc. 8	Bede, Homilia 4 (Add. 52359 = last lines moved to Lc. 9)

Table 14 (continued). Contents of Br 1675 (Fr 24153)

R.	Estimatus sum cum descendentibus
V.	Posuerunt me in lacu
Lc. 9	Bede, Homilia 4 (<i>Add. 52359 = ends early</i>)
R.	O uos omnes
V.	Attendite uniuersi populi

LAUDS

A.	O mors ero mors. Ps. Miserere
A.	Attendite uniuersi populi Ps. Bonum est
A.	O uos omnes Ps. Deus deus meus
A.	A porta inferi erue Ps. Ego dixi
A.	Plangent eum quasi Ps. Laudate
V.	Christe factus est (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
Ben.	Mulieres sedentes

PROCESSION/MASS

	Kirrie eleison
	Domine miserere christus dominus factus est obediens (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
	Christe eleison (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
A.	Agno mitis basia (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
	Christe eleison (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
A.	Vita in ligno morit (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
	Christe eleison (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
A.	Teque uinciri uoluisti (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
	Kirrie eleison (<i>Sarum = n/a</i>)
A.	Alleluia alleluia alleluia allelaui Ps. Laudate omnes

VESPERS

A.	Vespere autem sabbati
----	-----------------------

Because these services are very nearly complete, it is possible to make liturgical comparisons on more stable grounds than usual. While the melodies for responsories and responsory verses in these offices show some universal similarity between a wide range of sources, their selection and arrangement could be quite variable between traditions. The offices often found in Sarum sources, for example, can be shown to differ markedly from sources of other traditions, in many cases signalled by the arrangement of responsories in the first nocturn of matins. Sarum sources typically have *Sepulto domino* (V. *Ne forte uenient*), *Recessit pastor* (V. *Ante cuius conspectum*) and

Agnus dei christus (V. *Christus factus est*).¹⁰⁰ A common continental variant, on the other hand, replaces the second and third responsories with *Iherusalem luge* (V. *Deduc quasi torrentem*) and *Plange quasi uirgo* (V. *Ululate pastores*). This arrangement was used at Notre Dame, Paris, but also in some English office manuscripts not of Sarum use, including at Worcester.¹⁰¹ A third tradition uses the same arrangement used as Notre Dame, but replaces the verses of the second and third responsories with *Ululate pastores* and *Plausuerunt super me*, respectively. This last arrangement seems to have largely featured in southern Germany and Austria, including Würzburg, the Benedictine house at Sankt Lambrecht and the Augustinian house at Klosterneuburg.¹⁰² In general, where these first three responsories agree between sources, it seems that most of the rest of the office will agree as well.

¹⁰⁰ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 52359, fols. 147v-150v is a typical notated example of this office, and a comparable non-notated version can be seen in London, British Library, Stowe Ms. 12, fols. 84v-86v, both digitized by the British Library. Add. Ms. 52359 was produced c. 1300-19 and is of northern origin, possibly associated with the Augustinians of St Anthony's at Cartmel, Lancashire (British Library Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_52359, accessed 15 March, 2016), while Stowe Ms. 12 is a Sarum breviary originally from the second quarter of the century, adapted for Norwich (British Library, Digitised Manuscripts, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Stowe_MS_12&index=20, accessed 15 March 2016). The office is paralleled in an antiphoner from c.1320-90, probably for a secular church in the diocese of St David's in Wales, Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), Ms. 20541 E, fols. 93r-95v (catalogue information retrieved from CANTUS Database, <http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374015/gb-ab-20541-e>, accessed 15 March, 2016), and an antiphoner from the second quarter of the century, possibly from the Augustinian house of St Giles at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire, Cambridge, University Library, Mm.2.9, pp. 229-34 (catalogue information retrieved from CANTUS Database, <http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374026/gb-cu-mmii9>, accessed 15 March, 2016).

¹⁰¹ The office at Notre Dame is preserved in a breviary from c. 1300, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 15181, fol. 290v-291r. The Worcester office is included in a liturgical compendium from the cathedral that was compiled c. 1230, Worcester, Cathedral Music Library, Ms. F.160 (Short Cat. no. 1247), fol. 62v.

¹⁰² The Klosterneuburg office is preserved in two antiphoners from the twelfth century, Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1010 fols. 120r-121v, and Ms. 1013 fols. 141v-144r. For the Abbey of Sankt Lambrecht, the office survives in a fourteenth-century antiphoner, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29 (olim 38/8 f.) fols 164v-168v. The twelfth century antiphoner from Würzburg, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 284, fols. 47r-48r, and a thirteenth-century antiphoner probably of southern German origin, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 202, fols. 70v-71v, also preserve the same arrangements.

Though the office in Br 1675 is not a perfect match to any of these uses, it is nevertheless much closer to the arrangement found in Sarum sources. A comparison with the Sarum version shows that only one point of musical difference occurs in matins: the verse for the third nocturn responsory *Plange quasi uirgo* is *Accingite nos* in Br 1675, but *Ululate pastores* in the Sarum sources to which it was compared. Another variance occurs later, immediately after the lauds service, where Br 1675 provides the Kyrie with interspersed antiphons in full, the alleluia antiphon and then ending in the middle of the first antiphon of vespers.¹⁰³ The Sarum sources only include the alleluia antiphon, and the Sarum breviaries have the rest of the office up to vespers summarized in rubrics, a feature which is absent in Br 1675.¹⁰⁴

The lessons for the matins service are also very closely related to the Sarum breviaries, both being drawn from the same passages of Lamentations, Augustine's sermons and Bede's homilies. In fact, the only differences that occur between Br 1675 and Stowe Ms. 12 are the order of Hebrew letters that begin each verse in the Lamentations readings. LBL Add. 52359, on the other hand, also has differences in the organization of where in each reading the lessons begin and end. The second nocturn in both Br 1675 and LBL Add. 52359 use the same passage from Augustine's sermon 223/I, although LBL Add. 52359 divides the reading up differently, ending the sixth reading several clauses earlier, and moving the beginning of the sixth reading to the end of the fifth reading. Beyond this, the two only have occasional differences in word order: where LBL Add. 52359 reads '*in mundus inuictus est spiritus*' and '*facere quod uoluit occulte; passus est ipse quod noluit*' in the fifth lesson, Br 1675 reads '*in mundus est spiritus inuictus*' and '*facere quod uoluit*'.¹⁰⁵ The same organization occurs in the third nocturn lessons, drawn from Bede's fourth homily: LBL Add. 52359 ends its eighth and ninth lessons earlier in the text, but otherwise contains the exact same

¹⁰³ Fr 24153, fol. 2v. For an account of the Kyrie, the 'alleluiatic antiphons' and services between lauds and vespers of Holy Saturday, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office* (1982), nos. 865, 910-11 and 929-32, esp. nos. 910-11.

¹⁰⁴ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 52359, fol. 150r and Stowe Ms. 12, fol. 86v.

¹⁰⁵ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 52359, fol. 149r-v. It should be noted that both of these readings differ from critical editions of the text and retain the same misspellings (*in mundus* and *uoluit*), which could connect them even further: one critical edition reads, '*immundus victus est spiritus*' and '*facere quod vellent, occulte passus est ille quod nollet*.' Miguel Pio de Luis, ed., *Obras completas de San Agustín*, vol. 24 (1983), 270-71.

material.¹⁰⁶ The nocturn in which the two have divergent texts is in the first, where the third lesson is taken from Lamentations 2:21-22 and 3:5-6 in Br 1675, and 2:21-22 and 3:4 in LBL Add. 52359; otherwise, their first nocturn readings agree, including the first lesson, where they both end at the same point midway through Lamentations 2:15.¹⁰⁷

In contrast to the general features of the Sarum office, the ‘continental’ office in BNF, Ms. Lat. 15181 has both divergent chant selections and related, though distinctly different, texts. The first nocturn lessons are taken from Lamentations 3:64-4:10 (rather than 2:13-22 and 3:4-6), those of the second nocturn taken from Augustine’s *Enarratio* on Psalm 63, number 16 rather than his sermon for the Paschal vigil, and the passage from Bede in the third nocturn is instead a Biblical reading from Hebrews 6:1-16.¹⁰⁸

Though there is nothing in the office Br 1675 that connects to this second, ‘non Sarum’ version of the office, there is at least one point of similarity that strongly suggests contact with the other major version, that found in sources from southern Germany and Austria. The chant *Domine miserere christus dominus factus est*, a textual variant of the chant *Christus dominus factus est* (which is itself a variant of *Christus factus est*), was used as one of the Kyrie antiphons in Br 1675. The more common variant, *Christus dominus factus est*, is found in many sources, including the Sarum manuscripts, as a Kyrie antiphon for Maundy Thursday.¹⁰⁹ However, the specific reading ‘*Domine miserere christus dominus factus est*’, complete with added melody, is not found in the Sarum sources. Rather, the Würzburg antiphoner Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 284 uses it three times during the Kyrie chants for Holy Saturday, though none of the other Holy Saturday Kyrie antiphons agree.¹¹⁰ At Klosterneuburg the chant was used for Maundy Thursday, but with a similar reading, as ‘*Domine miserere nobis christus dominus factus est*’, with ‘*nobis*’ sung on repeated unisons rather than developing additional melodic phrasing.¹¹¹ A twelfth-century antiphoner from St. Gall uses the chant in the same way as the Würzburg antiphoner (sung multiple times in the

¹⁰⁶ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 52359, fols. 149v-150r.

¹⁰⁷ London, British Library, Add. Ms. 52359, fols. 147v-148r; Fr 24153, fol. 1r.

¹⁰⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 15181, fol. 290v-291r.

¹⁰⁹ Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), Ms. 20541 E, fol. 89r, Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Mm.2.9, p. 221, and Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F.160, fol. 60r all have this version of the chant.

¹¹⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 284, fol. 48r.

¹¹¹ Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1010, fol. 117r.

Holy Saturday Kyries), but uses the more standard reading '*Christus dominus factus est*'.¹¹² Finally, the 1495 printed antiphoner of Augsburg and a fourteenth-century antiphoner from Einsiedeln abbey in modern Switzerland both use the same variant reading as Br 1675 ('*Domine miserere christus dominus factus est*'), though they keep the chant to Maundy Thursday rather than Holy Saturday.¹¹³

The layout of Br 1675 is neat and consistent, using a two-column, 2-3-2 format for the margin lines. Prickings were made on the outside margins only. The vertical margins were measured using perfect ratios with the height of the horizontal writing lines: in the intercolumn, the three margin lines are spaced apart at the same width as the writing lines, forming a 1:1 ratio of space from line to line and a total intercolumn width of two writing lines. The outer margins, however, are slimmer, at a ratio of 1:2—that is, the lines are only half the width of a writing line. If the parchment preparation was measured and orderly, however, the palaeographical features show a number of irregularities that suggest less planning on the part of the text scribe. On seven different occasions the scribe ran out of lines when copying the music texts, and was forced to leave the last line without enough space for a staff.¹¹⁴ The text scribe also provided space between syllables for melismas on only five occasions, so that the music scribe often ran out of room trying to fit all of the neumes onto the staff.¹¹⁵ In fact, the music texts are so compressed that the rubricator regularly had little or no room to write the chant rubrics in between texts. The long list of Kyrie antiphons and the first antiphon of vespers are completely without rubrication other than 'a[ntiphona]', 'ps[almus]', and 'v[ersus]', making it quite difficult to tell where the liturgical events actually begin and end.¹¹⁶ The scribe made source errors in the lesson texts, as well. The biblical source that opens Bede's homily (Matthew 28:1 '*etc.*') is erroneously identified as a passage from Mark, and the Hebrew acrostic letters that begin each of the Lamentations verses are wildly inaccurate.¹¹⁷

¹¹² St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 388, 201.

¹¹³ London, British Library, printed book IB. 6753, fol. 24r; Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln-Musikbibliothek, Ms. 611, fol. 83v.

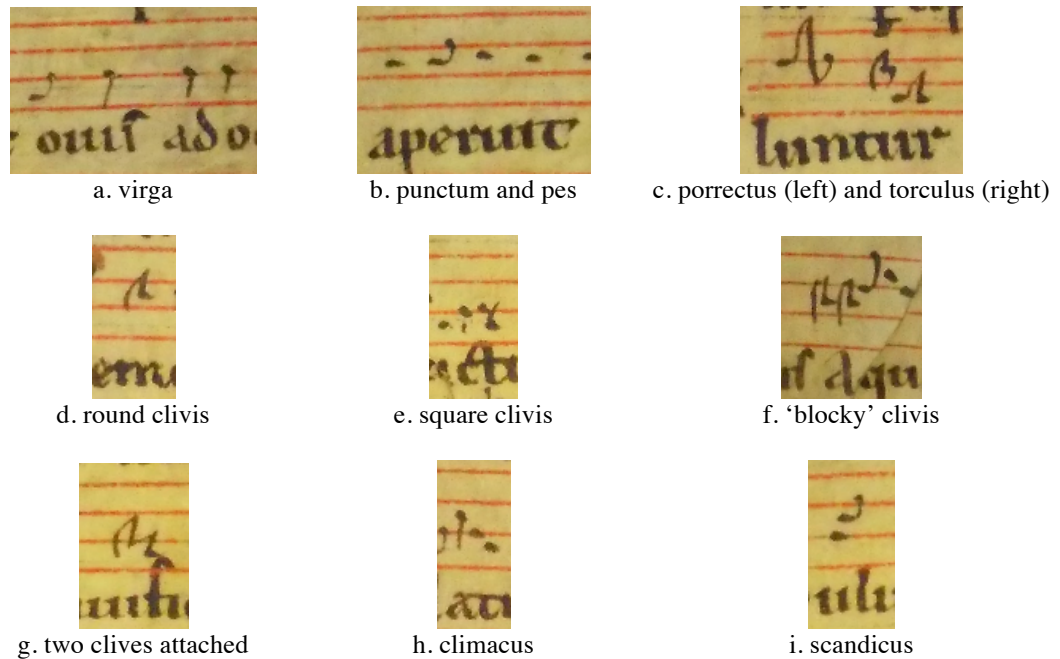
¹¹⁴ See Plate 21 for examples.

¹¹⁵ These are (fol. 2r): at '*cilicio*' in *Ierusalem luge*; '*cilicio*' and '*amara*' in *Plange quasi*; and (fol. 2v) '*me*' in *Posuerunt me* and '*uidete*' in *Attendite uniuersi*.

¹¹⁶ See Plate 19, on fol. 2v.

¹¹⁷ See Plate 20, on fol. 2r at the bottom of the left column. Table 14 shows the Hebrew letter names that are given in Br 1675, along with what they should be.

Figure 8. Examples of notation in Br 1675 (Fr 24153, fols. 1v-2r)



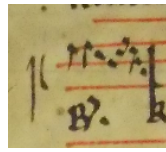
This latter error is not entirely surprising, however. The acrostic letters in LBL Add. 52359 are also inaccurate, but they at least follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet from *Aleph* through *Ioth* (though it skips *He*, *Heth* and *Teth*).¹¹⁸ The selection in Br 1675 has no logical order within the alphabet, nor does it have any relation to any of the acrostic patterns in Lamentations. Both manuscripts also misplace one of the letters, at chapter 3:5 in Br 1675 (third lesson) and chapter 2:15 in LBL Add. 52359 (first lesson).¹¹⁹

The melodies in Br 1675 agree with LBL Add. 52359, and the music scribe wrote in an Anglo-Norman hand that was quite consistent in some respects and quite

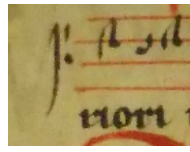
¹¹⁸ London, British Library, Ms. Add. 52359, fols. 147v-148v.

¹¹⁹ The Notre Dame breviary Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 15181, on the other hand, contains all of the correct letters for its readings, in the correct order and location. Considering the role of the University of Paris in compiling authoritative biblical texts, this is perhaps to be expected.

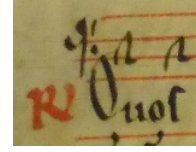
Figure 9. Forms of the F-clef in Br 1675 (Fr 24153, fols. 2v)



a. F-clef



b. alternate F-clef



c. another alternate F-clef

variable in others. He used both the virga and the punctum, and typically—though not always—retained their older, unheightened connotations of meaning of ascending and descending intervals. In other words, he used the virga when the melody stays at a unison or ascends, and a punctum when it descends (Figures 8a and 8b). The pes is found always in its square form, typically without square noteheads, and torculus and porrectus retain their neumatic shapes that built off of the square pes and round clivis (Figure 8c). The form of the clivis is varied, however: usually in the round form that is typical of this style of notation, the scribe sometimes used the square clivis when the preceding neume was at the same pitch; he also periodically switched from using a curved round clivis and a blocky ‘round’ clivis that resembles the clivis in Mi 580 (Figures 8d through 8f). A descending set of three notes are interchangeably written as two attached clives—the first round, the second square—and a climacus (Figures 8g and 8h), and the scandicus always appears with the pes on top of the punctum (Figure 8i).

Overall, the music scribe of Br 1675 appears to have had a clear understanding of how his neumes should both look and function, but his calligraphic control was inconsistent, and his ductus and thickness of line varies considerably throughout the fragment. When he chose one particular note shape over available alternatives it often appears to have been based on whim rather than necessity. This can also be seen in the F-clef, where he used three different forms—one strongly resembling the F-clefs of music scribe B in Codex 1316 *et al.* and the music scribe of Codex 822 (Figure 9a), and two others without close comparisons in the other fragments (Figures 9b and 9c)—without any consistency over his choice. The fact that the text scribe often ran out of room, and often left little or no room for the rubricator, suggests either that he was not familiar with the content, or that he was not practiced in layout and planning, or both. While it is not uncommon to see errors in the rubrics marking biblical passages and

acrostic letters, as can be seen in the Sarum sources compared here, the rubric hand of Br 1675 was especially inaccurate.

The overall impression is that Br 1675 was produced by a scribe or scribes who were experienced and familiar with their work, but perhaps lacked the training or the resources to plan and verify the production adequately. One explanation for such a scribal environment is that the manuscript was copied in Sweden, in an establishment that did not have recourse to the scriptoria or libraries of exemplars seen in England. The highly unusual textual variant used in *Christus dominus factus est*, which otherwise seems to be limited to German sources, amid a fragment that agrees with Sarum sources in nearly every other way, strengthens this possibility. If German and English exemplars, and descendants copied from them, were indeed circulating throughout Sweden during the twelfth century without much consideration regarding which tradition they represented, then cases such as that found in Br 1675 must have been fairly common.

2.2.4 Mi 56 + Codex 1316 (with Mi 629, Mi 107, Mi 235, Mi 245 and Mi 613)

Codex 1316 is a group of eight missal folio fragments from the twelfth century, and is believed to belong either to Mi 56 or Mi 629.¹²⁰ This connection between the three manuscript fragments—Codex 1316 with eight folios, Mi 56 with four folios, and Mi 629 with two folios—has produced a comparatively large pool of thirteen folios which may belong to a total of one, two, three or even more separate manuscripts.¹²¹ Since the ending of the MPO project, Michael Gullick has identified four more missal fragments which he adds to Codex 1316: Mi 107 (two folios), Mi 235 (two folios), Mi 245 (one folio) and Mi 613 (two folios).¹²² All twelve individual fragments survived in post-medieval accounts from 1565-72, with all but two outliers being between 1567 and 1569. Their sixteenth-century archival provenances, however, are greatly varied, with

¹²⁰ At the time of writing, Codex 1316 is comprised of Fr 2217, Fr 3528, Fr 5850, Fr 9226 and Fr 10376. Examples of the scribal hands in the manuscript are reproduced on Plate 36.

¹²¹ Mi 56 contains Fr 26212 and Fr 26213, while Mi 629 contains Fr 27485.

¹²² The fragments are: Mi 107 = Fr 26322, Mi 235 = Fr 26672, Mi 245 = Fr 26684 and Mi 613 = Fr 27464. I am indebted to Michael Gullick for these attributions, which are taken from Michael Gullick, 'Riksarkivet fragments' (unpublished manuscript provided to the author 11 August, 2014), entry for Fr 2217 *et al.*

an emphasis on military records, suggesting that the manuscript or manuscripts from which they came were stored centrally in Stockholm. Table 15 provides a list of the fragments with their post-medieval bindings, basic contents and salient palaeographical features.

Liturgically, there is much to suggest that most or even all of these fragments in fact come from a single manuscript. Of the twelve separate fragments that make up this combined collection, eleven of them come from the temporale section, specifically the period between the second week of Lent and Holy Week. The only fragment which does not come from this section is Fr 2217, which came from the sanctorale, with masses for the 20 January feast of Ss Fabian and Sebastian and the 21 January feast of St Agnes; incidentally, Fr 2217 also differs from the others in that it is the only fragment whose bound accounts are from before 1567 (it was bound two years earlier, in 1565) and is the only one whose bound accounts are for the province of Västergötland.

As for the fragments with material from Lent and Holy Week, the fragments follow a clear and ordered progression in their liturgical content: placing each fragment in liturgical order provides at least part of each mass throughout the second week of Lent, as well as Saturday of the third week, Sunday through Thursday of the fourth week, Passion Sunday and Holy Week from Tuesday through Holy Saturday. None of the liturgical material is duplicated, and textual continuities established between them can even be used to suggest that they come from a single parent manuscript. As shown in Table 15, Fr 5850, fol. 2v ends in the middle of the mass for Wednesday in the fourth week of Lent, amid the first lesson (Ezekiel 36:23-28); the final words of the lesson and any content that would have followed are now lost, since the fragment was trimmed below the fourteenth line of text at the time it was bound to the accounts. The next liturgical content comes from Fr 26213, which begins with the final lines of the second lesson (Isaiah 1:16-19). The lacuna between them would have included, presumably, the gradual, the collect and the first three verses of the Isaiah reading; based on the size of text and music staves, and assuming that the gradual given was *Uenite filii audite*, the lacuna is roughly long enough to fill the bottom half of the folio that was trimmed from Fr 5850. In other words, if Fr 5850 and Fr 26213 were part of the same manuscript, they would have been immediate neighbours.

The same continuity can be observed in the fragments with material for Holy Week. The Wednesday mass flows smoothly from Fr 26684 to Fr 3528, and the entire

Table 15. Contents and layout of Mi 56 + Codex 1316 + Mi 107 + Mi 235 + Mi 245 + Mi 613 + Mi 629

Fragment	Account and year	Folios	Liturgical contents	No. of lines & line height	Column width	Scribal hand (text/music)	Large initials Colouration
Fr 9226	'annual interest' 1567	2	Lent 2 (Sun-Mon, Sat)	28-29 / 7.5-8mm	134mm	A / A	red, violet
Fr 26322	Småland 1567	2	Lent 2 (Wed-Fri)	29 / 6.5-8mm	128mm	A / A	red, violet
Fr 5850	Småland 1569	2	Lent 3 (Sat), Lent 4 (Tue-Wed)	? / 7.5-8mm	128mm	B / B	red, violet
Fr 26213	Kronoberg army 1569	2	Lent 4 (Wed), Passion Sun	30 / 7.5-8mm	128mm	B / B	red, blue
Fr 26212	Småland army 1567-68	1	Lent 4 (Thu)	30 / 7-8mm	128mm	B / B	red
Fr 27485	Västergötland army 1567	2	Holy Week (Tue)	30 / 7.5-8mm	134mm	A / –	–
Fr 26684	Stockholm armoury 1567	1	Holy Week (Tue-Wed)	30 / 7-8mm	?	B / B	red, violet
Fr 3528	Uppland 1568	1	Holy Week (Wed)	30 / 7.5-8mm	?	B / B	red only?
Fr 27464	Uppland 1572	2	Holy Week (Wed-Thu)	30? / 7-8mm	120mm	B / B	red, violet, blue
Fr 10376	Finnish chamber 1568	2	Good Fri - Holy Sat (exultet)	30-31 / 7-8mm	134mm	B / B	–
Fr 26672	Hälsingland army 1568	2	Holy Sat (mass, ordo)	29 / 8-9mm	134mm	B / B	red, violet
Fr 2217	Västergötland 1565	1	Jan: Fabian & Sebastian, Agnes	30-31? / 7-8mm	128mm	B / B	red, violet

verso side of Fr 3528 provides the first approximately 230 words of the gospel reading (Luke 22-23:53). Fr 27464 provides the final verse of the reading (17 words)—and before it was trimmed at the top possibly had two or three more lines of text—so that by strict mathematical estimation the remaining text of the reading would have required three full folios plus ten to eighteen lines, depending on whether the intervening folios were ruled for twenty-nine, thirty or thirty-one lines.¹²³ Eighteen lines—more than half a folio—is certainly too much to have fit on the trimmed upper lines of Fr 27464, so by assuming a basic ruling scheme of thirty lines per folio (including the trimmed Fr 27464), it seems fully reasonable that Fr 3528 and Fr 27464 were separated by exactly three folios which contained the bulk of the lengthy gospel reading. Figure 10 illustrates how conveniently these observations allow the fragments to be arranged into a convincing foliation pattern.

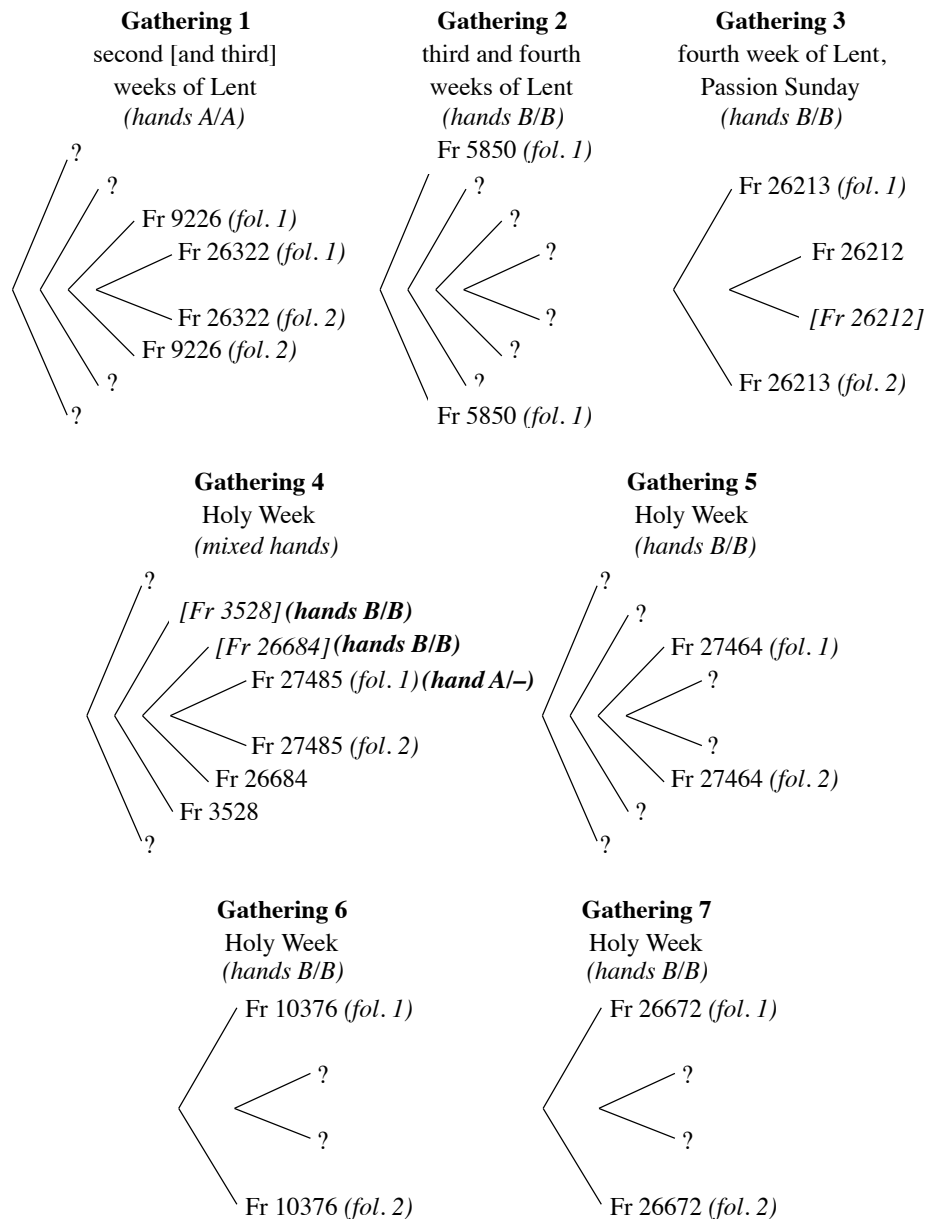
The palaeographical evidence for the most part also shows a great deal of similarity between the fragments. Each of the fragments exhibits one of two textual hands (text scribes A and B), both of which Michael Gullick has described as probably French.¹²⁴ Additionally, the fragments with music (all but Fr 27485) each show one of two music hands (music scribes A and B). Neither of these hands have been attributed to any specific region or style of script, but the notation of scribe B is quite similar to that found in another Swedish fragment, the antiphoner Codex 822, including the distinct shape of the F-clef; Susan Rankin has assigned the music hand of Codex 822 to North France.¹²⁵ The text and music scribes also seem to have worked primarily in teamed pairs, or perhaps as individuals copying both text and music: the hands of text scribe A and music scribe A are usually found together ('scribal pair A'), and the same is true for the hands of text scribe B and music scribe B ('scribal pair B'). Because of this consistency, similarly to Br 1675, it is possible that each pair was the work of a single scribe who copied both text and music. Scribal pair A copied Fr 9226 and Fr 26322, two fragments which were once part of a single gathering containing, perhaps among other things, masses for the second week of Lent. Text scribe A also worked on Fr 27485, a fragment of the Passion reading for Tuesday in Holy Week (Mark 14-15).

¹²³ Based on an assumption that the full reading of Luke 22-23:53 contains 1,744 words.

¹²⁴ MPO, Fr 2217, Fr 3528, Fr 5850, Fr 9226, Fr 10376.

¹²⁵ MPO, Fr 2893, Fr 6032, Fr 7794.

Figure 10. A proposed collation diagram for Mi 56 + Codex 1316 + Mi 107 + Mi 235 + Mi 245 + Mi 613 + Mi 629



Scribal pair B copied most of the remaining fragments, although his notational choices for the Exultet in Fr 10376 contrast starkly with the rest of the fragments.¹²⁶ The large initials use a generally uniform style across all of the fragments and could have been

¹²⁶ Discussed in detail below.

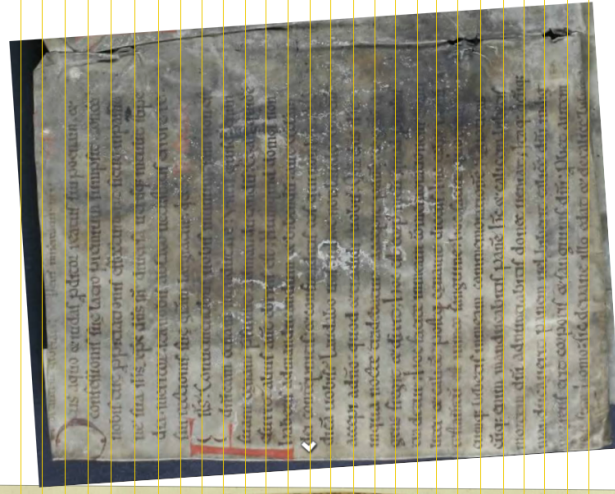
done by a single artist, although the colouring scheme is not always consistent. Generally the fragments follow an alternating scheme of red and violet, but three fragments from scribal team B break the pattern: Fr 26213 alternates red and blue, in Fr 26212 the two initials are both red, and in Fr 27464 a three-colour scheme rotating between red, blue and violet is used.

Once the palaeographical and codicological comparisons move beyond a simple study of the scribal hands, though, the evidence to suggest a single manuscript becomes much less convincing. All of the fragments use the same basic layout: a single column dry ruled with single bounding lines, prickings on the outside margin only, and all of the ruling lines drawn strictly within the margins except for the top and third lines, which are drawn across the folio; all writing begins above the top line. However, while most of the fragments were ruled with thirty lines, some were ruled with more or less: the gathering copied by scribal pair A (Fr 9226 and Fr 26322) was ruled with only twenty-eight lines, although Fr 9226, fol. 1v unusually was ruled with an extra line; Fr 10376, fol. 1v was also strangely ruled with an additional line for only one side of a folio; and Fr 26672 was ruled with twenty-nine lines.

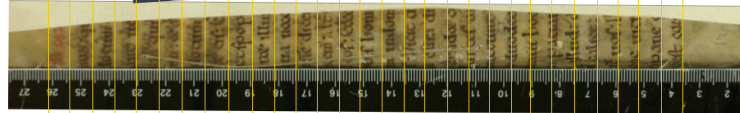
The writing lines are typically spaced 7.5-8mm apart in each fragment, although some have a wider range than others. This is to be expected, but it is also likely that the rulings would stay consistent for folios within a single gathering, as presumably the entire gathering was pricked at once, resulting in the same spacing between lines for each folio. This is not the case here. Fr 27485 and Fr 26684, which presumably would be from the same gathering, have matching line spacings, but Fr 3528, which presumably would have belonged either to that gathering or to the next gathering with Fr 27464, matches neither (see Figure 11). The variable spacing between lines in Fr 3528 produce overall a taller writing block than Fr 27464, but shorter than Fr 27485 and Fr 26684. Another stark variation in the layout is the width of the writing columns, which varies widely. Even between Fr 9226 and Fr 26322, two fragments copied by the same pair of hands and presumably from the same gathering, there is as much as a 6mm variation in the width of the bounding lines. In the case of Fr 27464 the width is varied even more to only 120mm. These wide variations in ruling suggest rather that these fragments in fact came from multiple manuscripts. It is still possible that they came from a single source, but if so then the parchment of that source was prepared distinctly without uniformity of ruling—at times even going so far as to prick and rule each folio

Figure 11. Comparison of the horizontal line rulings in Fr 27485, Fr 26684, Fr 3528 and Fr 27464

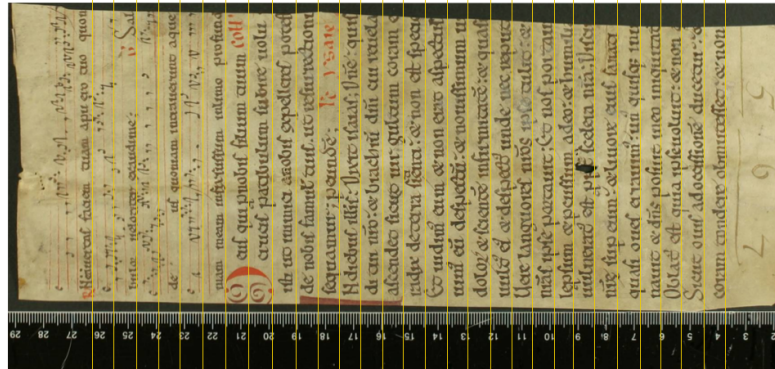
Fr 27464



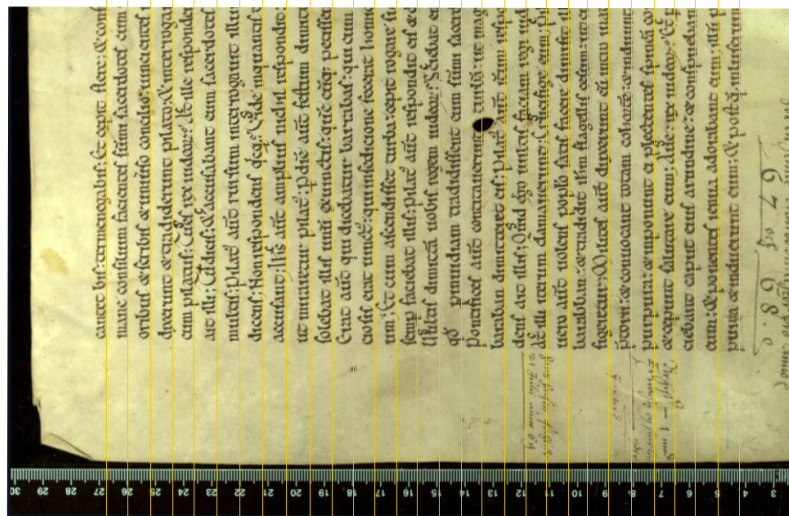
Fr 3528



Fr 26684



Fr 27485



individually or in twos or threes, rather than together as a single gathering. The variations in the vertical bounding lines, on the other hand, seem to tend toward either a 128mm or a 134mm width, suggesting that they were pricked accurately but with variable measurements. One possibility that can explain these variations, at least in the vertical lines, is that the parchment was collectively prepared by more than one person, each of whom had similar but not uniform methods of measuring their spacings.

If, on the other hand, these fragments did indeed all come from the same manuscript, then it is possible to estimate a tentative history of its sixteenth-century provenance. In 1565 it was kept (most likely) at either Stockholm or Västergötland, where it was used to bind provincial accounts: the person responsible for binding those accounts for whatever reason chose to use Fr 2217, pulled from somewhere in the middle of the sanctorale. Later, by 1567 the manuscript was being held in Stockholm and used primarily to bind military accounts. At this point the method of the selection in the remaining surviving folios can be seen clearly: all were removed from a single section of the book, one bifolio after the next, as needed, over what appears to have been a two-year span. Interestingly, with the single exception of Fr 27485, fragments which contained only text seemed to have been avoided, such as the lengthy gospel readings of Holy Week, so that the fragments used all feature several large coloured initials, blocks of text and music. The archival ledger information was either copied onto a blank margin of the fragment, but could also be copied over a block of text that had been scratched out to make room for the ledger (especially if there was not ample space in the margins), leaving the music and coloured initials intact.

The choice to write in the margins is self-explanatory, as legibility of the ledger would be the primary concern, but there are other aspects in how the fragments were used for binding that warrant attention. For example, out of the nine fragments which contain ledgers (two were cut down to act as binding strips, and one was sewn together with another fragment that was given the ledger), eight of the have the ledgers written in the lower margin of the folio, but upside down.¹²⁷ The ledger that was written right-side up compared to the medieval content of the folio, Fr 26212, was written at the top of the folio, over text that had been scratched out, despite the fact that there was more room in the bottom margin, and since the bottom portion of the folio contains a music staff there

¹²⁷ Fr 3528 and Fr 5850 are the two fragments cut into strips. The fragment sewn with another and used as the back cover is Fr 27464.

would be less to erase. Seven of the twelve fragments all follow a standard formula of presentation: the outside folios always feature a balance of text blocks, music staves and several large initials of alternating colours, while the inside folios do not; they feature uninterrupted blocks of text or music, sometimes with the addition of line or two of the other type (e.g., a large block of text with a single line of music). They may also contain a single large initial, but in each case the largest number of initials and the most frequent alternations of text and music occur in the outside folios, usually the front.¹²⁸ In fact, Fr 2217 produces this presentation scheme only because it was turned inside out (i.e., the outside covers of Fr 2217 are fols. 1v and 2r, not fols. 1r and 2v).

Not all of the fragments follow this presentation, of course. For example, Fr 27485 has nothing but text on the front cover, while all of the others are balanced between text, music and initials. Fr 10376 has all music on the front cover (outside and inside), and all text on the back cover, with no initials at all. Taken as a whole, however, it is possible to see some aesthetic consistency, though there is not necessarily any reason to believe that there was a concerted effort amongst binders to create aesthetically pleasing covers, or that any single cover was laid out specifically to enhance its visual appeal. The bailiff system was an efficient bureaucracy, and the fragments were used specifically because of they were available and free. If there were any conscious consideration of how to arrange the fragment for binding, such as turning Fr 2217 inside out so that the multi-coloured initials could be seen alongside the text and music, then in all likelihood this was as much a byproduct of the utilitarian concerns of the binder chamber as anything else.

Much of the discussions above assumes that the fragments come from a common parent manuscript, and the irregular rulings across folios that would have had to share the same gathering is enough to cause reservation. However, regardless of whether the fragments were originally from one or multiple sources, it is still reasonable to examine them together as a single group. They are all missal fragments, covering a specific period of the liturgical calendar, and were produced by a limited number of scribes who seem to have been operating in tandem. Even if these fragments in fact represent two or even three separate missals, they were still copied by the same hands in a unified style, without noticeable changes to account for the passage of time and slight

¹²⁸ These are Fr 2217, Fr 9226, Fr 26212, Fr 26213, Fr 26322, Fr 26672 and Fr 26684.

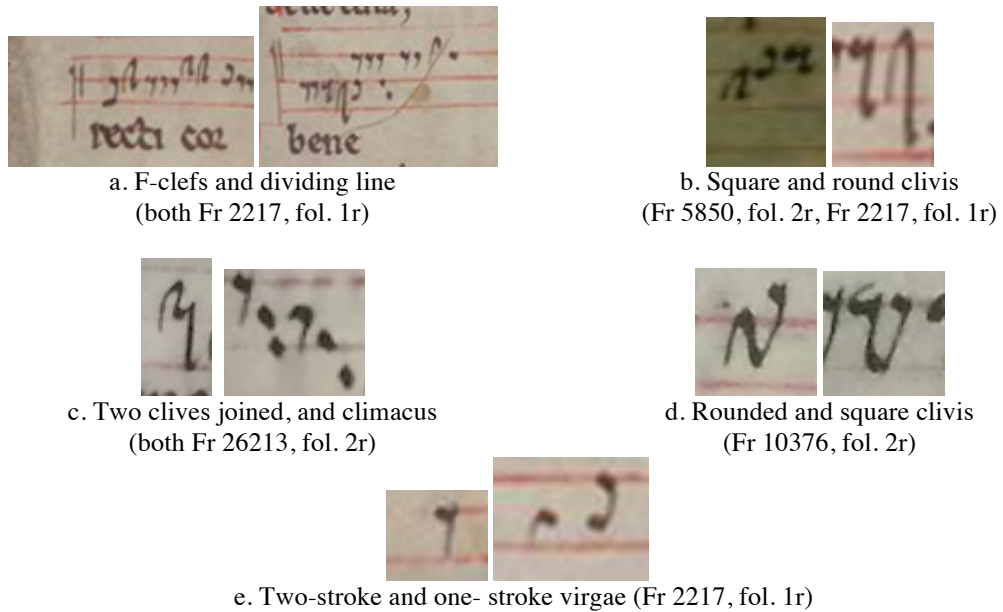
alterations of technique, and therefore can be hypothesized to have been copied at roughly the same time, possibly even from a common exemplar source. Under such circumstances, it can also be suggested that these hypothetical multiple missals copied together would demonstrate the same, or similar, liturgical features.

As has been mentioned above, music scribe B copied the music in the majority of the surviving fragments, and can be identified readily by his distinctive F-clef, which is also seen in the music of Codex 822 (see Figure 12a). He wrote in a North French script, and was careful enough to use dividing lines to group neumes together in cases where it may otherwise be ambiguous which syllable should have the neume. His choice of shapes was greatly varied, and there does not always seem to be functional reasoning behind his choices. The pes is always a square pes, with prominent squares at both ends of the neume (Figure 12a, at '*rec-ti*'), but the clivis can be either rounded or square. In most cases, the scribe used the round form of the clivis as its standalone form, but there are passages in which he preferred the square shape (Figure 12b). It seems that the only time in which the choice had deliberate logic is when two clivis neumes occur in succession: in this case the first clivis is square and the second is round, a simple calligraphic aid to help the eye differentiate each neume. When the two neumes are combined into a single compound shape, however, the order of shapes is reversed (Figure 12c). The compound shape provides the same melodic contour as a climacus, and the scribe seems to use them interchangeably. Both forms of the clivis are also found in the porrectus, again interchangeably, though the rounded form was used more often (Figure 12d).

The most striking feature of scribe B, however, is in his drawing of the virga. Throughout most of his work he used the two-stroke virga, featuring a left-facing flag. On very few occasions he switched to the single-stroke virga, recognizable by its right-facing flag (Figure 12e). No logical musical or calligraphic reasons can be found, making his choice of when to switch shapes a mystery. In fact, in the music for the Exultet on Fr 10376 fol. 2, the scribe changed between the two quite frequently; this is the only case in which he does so, and in the rest of his work he only reverts to the single-stroke virga on rare occasions.¹²⁹ The switches tend to occur at the beginning of

¹²⁹ See Plate 36, in the example for scribe B. Note the scribe's alternation between a downward two-stroke virga on the first staff, and an upward two-stroke virga in the second half of the second staff.

Figure 12. Mi 56 + Codex 1316 *et al.*, scribal hand of music scribe B



grammatical phrases and after a change in pitch after a series of monotones, but these generalizations are only partially true, and the choices otherwise appear meaningless. The Exultet melody is unusually old and well-preserved, lending it a gravitas that can be claimed by few other chants. It is also worth noting that the Exultet requires long passages of single-note neumes. Much in the same way that he alternated between the round and square clivis to help with visual differentiation, the scribe may have chosen to alter his use of the virga in the Exultet to help break up the visual monotony of having the page swimming in a sea of unattached virgae, or to add some personal variety and interest, or mechanical speed, to the inevitably monotonous task of copying the Exultet.

Music scribe A wrote in a style that is very similar to music scribe B, except that he wrote with a more varied ductus and with thinner strokes. His virga is much slimmer, with a pointed rather than a squarish flag and always of the two-stroke variety, and he never used the square clivis except within the context of multi-note or compound neumes such as in the porrectus or in two clives attached together.¹³⁰

As is typical in the fragments with English palaeographical features studied here, the liturgy in Mi 56 has a certain amount of similarities to English tradition, but

¹³⁰ See Plate 36, in the example for scribe A.

with enough difference that a solid English attribution probably cannot be made. The presence of any English influence might better be seen as a participating layer of complexity in the fragment, rather than a direct model or inspiration. For the most part, the surviving masses for Lent follow both Legg's edition of the Sarum Missal and the Hereford missals consulted by William Smith in his study of Hereford use.¹³¹ Even some seemingly minute details agree, such as in the lesson reading for Saturday mass in the third week of Lent (Daniel 13), where both Mi 56 *et al.* and the Sarum Missal omit verse 18.¹³² However, there are several key differences, usually confined to the prayers for the mass rather than the chants. On Fr 5850, fol. 2v the prayers for Tuesday in the fourth week of Lent all differ from the Sarum Missal and Hereford sources except for the final prayer *super populum*: '*Miserere quesumus domine populo tuo et continuiis...*'.¹³³ Another alternative prayer is found in the secret for Passion Sunday. This prayer, preserved on Fr 26213, fol. 2, reads '*Hec munera domine quesumus et uincula nostre prauitatis...*', rather than, '*Hostias fidelium tuorum...*'. However, the secret for this particular mass does not seem to have been stable even across Sarum sources: in Legg's 'B' source, Bologna, University Library, Ms. 2565, the same secret as in Fr 26213 is given, but in the others it is the latter prayer, '*Hostias fidelium*'.¹³⁴ The last point of difference comes from Thursday in the fourth week of Lent, preserved on Fr 26212. The secret for the mass is '*Efficiatur hec hostia domine quesumus sollemnibus gratia ieiuniis...*', which in the Sarum Missal—and presumably in the Hereford missals, as well, since William Smith did not record any differences from

¹³¹ William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015), 87-240. Smith catalogues a large series of manuscripts connected to Hereford, comparing each to five standard Hereford sources: Oxford, Balliol College, Ms. 321, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 39675, Oxford, University College, Ms. 78A, Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F.161 and the 1502 printed *Missale Herefordensis*, Worcester, Cathedral Library, SEL. A. 50. 3.

¹³² MPO, Fr 5850, fol. 1v; John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 78. In the Sarum Missal the reading from Daniel 13 also omits verses 10-14 and 31-33, but unfortunately Fr 5850, which is heavily trimmed, only preserves verses 17-23. It is unknown whether the other omissions were also present.

¹³³ Secret: '*Hec hostia domine quesumus emundet nostra delicta...*'; Postcommunion: '*Huius nos domine perceptio sacramenti...*'. See John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 81. These alternate prayers are not found anywhere else in Legg's edition or in the Hereford manuscripts consulted in William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015).

¹³⁴ John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 86.

Sarum—is used elsewhere, for Saturday in the third week of Lent.¹³⁵ Additionally, the offertory in Fr 26212 is *Domine in auxilium meum*, a chant not found anywhere in the Sarum or Hereford missals.

The liturgy for Holy Week follows the Sarum Missal closely up until the Wednesday mass. This is not unusual, as the missals of Hereford use, which share many common traits with Sarum sources, also deviate quite heavily for this period. The secret for the Wednesday mass in Mi 56 *et al.* is ‘*Purifica nos uiscere dominus...*’, a Gregorian prayer that was adopted by the Sarum sources, but for Thursday in the fourth week of Lent.¹³⁶ The Wednesday mass survives in Mi 56 *et al.* from the gospel reading to the communion chant and includes a preface text after the secret, something that is not seen in the Sarum or Hereford missals.¹³⁷ The preface is found rather in the printed *Missale Ambrosianum*, despite nothing else from the sources matching at all.¹³⁸ Except for the presence of the Ambrosian preface, the same arrangement of chants and texts in Mi 56 *et al.* can be found in two Hereford missals from the later Middle Ages, as well as the printed Hereford missal of 1502; by contrast, the uses of Winchester, the Sarum Missal and at least one other late medieval Hereford missal (Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F.161), use a different secret, ‘*Suscipe quesumus domine hoc munus oblatum*’, which is borrowed from the Gelasian Sacramentary. The secret ‘*Purifica nos...*’, which is used in Mi 56 *et al.*, is instead used for Thursday in the fourth week of Lent in these sources.¹³⁹ In the case of Hereford, William Smith has argued that prayers were a common venue for Sarum influence in later Hereford missals, and the secret in particular was prone to

¹³⁵ John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 78.

¹³⁶ H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (1915), 47-48; John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 83 and 101.

¹³⁷ MPO, Fr 27464, fol. 1r. The contents include the gospel reading (Luke 22-23:53), the offertory chant *Domine exaudi orationem* the secret ‘*Purifica nos uiscere dominus...*’, the preface ‘*Qui innocens pro impiis...*’, and the communion chant *Potum meum cum fletu*.

¹³⁸ *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: de Sirtuis, 1640), 171.

¹³⁹ London, British Library, Ms. Add. 39675, fol. 83v (from 1320 x 1349), Oxford, University, Ms. 78A, fol. 83r (from 1419? x 1425?), and Worcester, Cathedral Library, SEL. A. 50. 3 (from 1502) all agree with Codex 1316; Worcester, Cathedral Library, Ms. F.161 (1419? x 1425?) does not. See William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015), 144 and 189, and John Wickam Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 83 and 101. The sources of the Sarum Missal consistently omit the word ‘*hoc*’ in the Gelasian secret ‘*Suscipe quesumus domine hoc munus oblatum...*’.

borrow from Sarum use. The replacement of the Gregorian prayer with the Gelasian one used in the Sarum Missal neatly reflects this observation.¹⁴⁰ It is also worth noting that in Mi 56 *et al.*, the most common point of variance between it and the Sarum Missal is also in the secret.

The mass for Thursday also provides a different preface, although this time borrowed from the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum*.¹⁴¹ The preface was also used at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, where it is found in the missal Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 270, fol. 35v.¹⁴² The final surviving text from the Thursday mass is another preface, '*Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...*', which also can be found in other uses, including St Augustine's, Canterbury and Lyon.¹⁴³

The mass for Holy Saturday is the most markedly different from that seen in the Sarum Missal. In the Sarum Missal the complete list of lesson readings for the mass are Genesis 1:1-2:2, Exodus 14:24-15:1, Isaiah 4 and Deuteronomy 31:22-30.¹⁴⁴ Only the last two of the four readings survive in Mi 56 *et al.*, but neither are related to the above passages; instead, the first (third in total) is from Isaiah 55:1-11, and the second (last lesson) is an incipit for 2 Maccabees 1:23, cited erroneously as a reading from Daniel.¹⁴⁵ Tracts are given after each reading, and in the Sarum Missal these are *Cantemus domino* and *Laudate dominum* after the first reading, *Uinea factas* after the second, *Attende celum* after the third, and *Sicut ceremus* after the fourth. *Uinea factas* is used in Mi 56 *et al.*, but after the third reading, not the second, and it adds an additional third verse, *Uinea enim domini*. The last tract, *Sicut ceremus*, matches the Sarum Missal.¹⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the liturgical complexities presented here do not actually help in determining whether the fragments come from one, two or more different manuscript sources. The physical problem of irregular horizontal ruling patterns between Fr 27485, Fr 26684 and Fr 3528, at least two of which must have come from the same gathering,

¹⁴⁰ William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015), 414.

¹⁴¹ MPO, Fr 27464, fol. 2v: '*Quem in hac nocte inter sacras epulas...*'. Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (1971), 522; John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 104.

¹⁴² Martin Rule provided an analysis of the preface in the St Augustine's missal in Martin Rule, ed., *The missal of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury* (1896), lxxi-lxxii.

¹⁴³ Martin Rule, *The missal of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury* (1896), lxxviii and 37; *Missale sanctae Lugdunensis ecclesiae* (Lyon: J.B. Pelagaud et socios, 1844), 172.

¹⁴⁴ John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 119-20.

¹⁴⁵ MPO, Fr 26672, fol. 1r.

¹⁴⁶ In Fr 26672 the scribe wrote '*ceruus*' rather than '*ceremus*'.

and the irregular vertical bounding lines between Fr 9226 and Fr 26322, which must have come from a single gathering as well. However, the most anomalous liturgical content occurs in other fragments and are unaffected by these problems, and the content allows the fragments fit into the proposed foliation scheme unusually well, to the extent that neighbouring folios and neighbouring gatherings can be deduced. The problems of the layout do not seem to be resolved by rearranging the fragments into two manuscripts, either; because of the various irregularities in layout throughout each of the fragments, if a single fragment must be rejected from the group on the basis of its ruling lines, then they must all be rejected, which denies the other palaeographical evidence as well as the liturgical evidence. There is always the possibility that the individual bifolios were pricked and ruled individually for whatever reason, making the issue of irregular rulings within a single gathering no longer a problem. In the end, it seems that the ruling lines appear to be the only matter causing reservation in the face of other evidence, and so until further evidence is uncovered, it can be suggested that these fragments seem to come from a single shared source, but not without some reservation.

2.2.5 Fr 1187

Fr 1187 is a single bifolio from a twelfth-century missal, attached to the Västergötland accounts of 1573.¹⁴⁷ In the MPO the manuscript is cautiously attributed to England or north France, on account of its musical notation.¹⁴⁸ It is the only known fragment from its parent manuscript. The bifolio probably formed the outermost sheet of its gathering: the recto side of the first folio contains a lettered quire marking, the letter t, at the centre of the bottom of the folio. This is partially in contrast to Neil Ker's observations on catchwords in Anglo-Norman manuscripts in the twelfth century. Ker noted a shift from a preference for lettered quire markers before the Norman Conquest to using catchwords after the Norman Conquest. In addition, Ker observed that this was accompanied by a regularization of catchword placement at the back of the gathering, rather than at the front as is seen in Fr 1187.¹⁴⁹ The bifolio's gathering was in the manuscript's sanctorale section, covering feasts from December and January. The first

¹⁴⁷ Details of Fr 1187 are reproduced on Plates 3 and 6.

¹⁴⁸ MPO, Fr 1187.

¹⁴⁹ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 49-50.

folio includes masses for the feast of St Lucy (13 December) and the vigils of St Thomas (20 December), and the second includes part of the feast of St Vincent (22 January), a commemoration of St Emerentiana (23 January) and the Conversion of Paul (25 January).¹⁵⁰

The entire bifolio of Fr 1187 measures about 320mm tall and 530mm across (thus making each folio approximately 215mm wide). It does not appear that it was trimmed at all to cover the bailiff accounts, so these measurements can be taken as the size of the book when it was in use. Its prickings and rulings were made essentially in the same format as Br 255: horizontal guiding lines were made on both the inner and outer margins, evenly spaced at 8mm apart, and the pricking marks visible at the top of each folio produce a two-column layout with single bounding lines.¹⁵¹ The first of two main differences in layout is that the ruling lines in Fr 1187 are mostly invisible: they could have been made lightly in lead and subsequently rubbed away, or perhaps the bifolio was at the bottom of a gathering being ruled together, making the dry rulings fainter than it would be in the bifolios above it. In any case, only very small traces of the bounding and guiding lines are visible at all. The second difference is that the two 73mm-wide columns are separated by an 8mm intercolumn, creating an even 1:1 ratio between intercolumn width and writing line height, whereas Br 255 doubled this ratio to 2:1 between intercolumn and writing line, drawing on the visual spacing produced by a 1-3-1 layout of bounding lines rather than a 1-2-1 layout. However, while Fr 1187's initial ruling may have held to a strict and simple 1:1 ratio between horizontal and vertical rulings, the loose margins kept by the scribe greatly obscure this feature. His writing is neatly aligned with the left column but regularly runs across the right edge of

¹⁵⁰ The first feast on fol. 2r begins at the very end of the Gospel reading (John 12:26, with the additional ending 'qui es in celis'), and from there contains only the offertory (as a text-only incipit), secret, communion and postcommunion. The MPO notes that the offertory chant *Gloria et honore coronasti* and communion chant *Qui uult uenire post me* are found in those positions for St Vincent in the *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, but remains unsure of whether the feast is in fact that of St Vincent. However, the two prayers are also found for the same feast in the 1474 printed edition of the Roman Missal; René-Jean Hesbert (ed.), *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1967), no. 27, and Robert Lippe (ed.), *Missale romanum Mediolani*, 1474, vol. 1 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society and Harrison & Sons, 1899), 310.

¹⁵¹ The outer prickings were trimmed off during production, leaving only the prickings in the inner margin visible.

each column, making the actual right edges impossible to define if it were not for the upper prickings. In effect, Fr 1187 has the same effect of regular parchment ruling but irregular writing that can be found in several of the fragments studied here.

All of the music in Fr 1187 is on staff lines, although not all of the staves were ever set with music. Specifically, each of the offertory verses used for St Lucy and the vigils of St Thomas are without music.¹⁵² Additionally, the other offertory present in the fragment, that for the feast of St Vincent, is given only as a text incipit without verses. It is possible that the music scribe's exemplar for the offertories simply did not have the verses in it. The notation itself is Anglo-French in type, with some strong comparisons to at least one Norman manuscript now in Rouen, as well as another fragment at the Swedish National Archives, Fr 461.¹⁵³ As is often seen in French sources, the music scribe of Fr 1187 reserved the virga for all independent single notes, and the final note of a scandicus, while the punctum represents a single note that is part of a compound neume. The pes is always square and the clivis always round, and the three-note compound neumes strictly follow the visual precedent set by these two shapes: the torculus is created by beginning with a square pes and turning it into a clivis during the upstroke; the porrectus is created by drawing a round clivis and adding the upstroke of the square pes at the end. The scandicus is always a pes with a virga above it, and the climacus is always a virga following by two puncta. In all cases, including in the drawing of the climacus, the flag of the virga faces to the left.¹⁵⁴

Various parallels to this notation can be found in Anglo-French sources, especially those from Normandy. The fundamental shapes of the neume symbols in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 267 (A. 401), for example, are the same, even though their calligraphic execution is quite different.¹⁵⁵ The scribe of Fr 1187 generally

¹⁵² For the St Lucy offertory *Offerentur regi*, the unnotated verses are *Eructavit cor meum* and *Adducentur in leticia*, and for the vigils of St Thomas offertory *Gloria et honore coronasti*, they are *Domine dominus noster quam admirabile* and *Quid est homo*.

¹⁵³ The manuscript now in Rouen is Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A.401 [catalogue 267], a ritual dated to before 1173 and following the use of the abbey of Saint-Pierre in Jumièges. A single plate has been reproduced in Denis Muzerelle *et al.*, *Manuscrits datés des bibliothèques de France*, vol. 1 (2000), pl. 46.

¹⁵⁴ Refer to the discussion of notation in Codex 70 for an example of notation where a left-facing 'Anglo-French' virga is replaced by a right-facing 'Franko-Germanic' virga for the climacus only.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. page 86, n. 63.

made his various flags thicker; bottom flags at the beginning of a neume he generally made as curved hooks, and the rest he made quite squarish. The scribe of Rouen Ms. 267, however, generally used shorter and slimmer flags, without much curvature, and his virga in particular had a much more prominent tail, reminiscent of the older Franko-Germanic notational styles. In contrast, both of the manuscripts can be compared to notations featuring in contemporary manuscripts from Laon or Cambrai, such as Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 262 and Ms. 263, or Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 27 and Ms. 46: in these sources many of the neume shapes are similar, but where in Rouen Ms. 267 and Fr 1187 the virga survived in the climacus and as a standalone neume, in Laon manuscripts it was abandoned entirely and replaced with the punctum.¹⁵⁶

2.2.6 Fr 1600

Fr 1600 is a single bifolio missal fragment preserved in the Västergötland accounts of the year 1600, coincidentally.¹⁵⁷ The folios were each trimmed to produce a single strip of parchment, enough so that only the inside column of each folio survives. The first folio contains the feast of Abdon and Sennen (30 July), as well as the mass for an unknown feast immediately before it. The unattributed feast uses the gradual *Iustus non conturbabitur* with its verse *Tota die miseretur*, the alleluia verse *Posuisti domine*, and the offertory *Posuisti domine* (with a different melody from the alleluia verse). These chants are used in multiple feasts, especially for martyrs; in fact, the missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlington of Westminster Abbey uses this precise order as a common mass for single martyrs.¹⁵⁸ The incipit for the gospel reading also survives on the fragment, showing a different reading: it begins at Luke 19:12, a passage that opens with the parable of the ten minas and ends with Christ's entry into Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ Both parts of the passage are full of kingly imagery, and one likely reason for its selection would have been if the saint in question was a king or ruling figure of some kind.

¹⁵⁶ Examples can be found in Denis Muzerelle *et al.*, *Manuscrits datés des bibliothèques de France*, vol. 1 (2000), pls. 45 & 47, and in vol. 2 (2013), pls. 62 & pl. 65. These are plates of Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 27 and Ms. 46, and of Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 262 and Ms. 263, respectively.

¹⁵⁷ A detail of Fr 1600 is reproduced on Plate 6.

¹⁵⁸ John Wickham Legg, *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, vol. 2 (1893), 325-26.

¹⁵⁹ 'Homo quidam nobilis abiit. reliqua.'

Considering that the very next mass is for Sts Abdon and Sennen, it is possible that this unknown feast is actually for St Olaf of Norway (29 July), whose death in the Battle of Stiklestad in 1030 caused him to be venerated both as a king and a martyr. A feast was compiled for Olaf of Norway shortly after his death, but for nearly two centuries its transmission was limited to the office, and in many cases relied on the common of saints beyond lessons and collects, making it difficult to make comparisons against other sources.¹⁶⁰ Another possibility along these lines include Olaf of Sweden (30 July), though the imagery of Christ's entry into Jerusalem has more poetic parallels to Olaf of Norway's return from exile to reclaim his position shortly before his martyrdom. St Botvid was also a martyr of local importance (28 July), though as a missionary martyr the kingly imagery does not fit him directly.

The manuscript used a two column layout, although it is impossible to tell how it was ruled, other than that outer margins were made with single bounding lines. The writing is started above the top writing line, but the writing lines themselves are quite difficult to make out as they were not scored. The full music staves take up a single writing line, with the second staff line aligned with the guiding line as usual. Large initials were made in alternating red, green, ochre and blue initials, and both the initials and the textual script use a variation of the typical English protogothic script of the twelfth century often called 'Anglicana'.

Fr 1600 is unusual among the fragments in Sweden, in that it uses two different staves: a four-line staff for full chants, and a two-line staff for incipits. The two-line staves were never provided with any music. The notation is in an Anglo-French style, more similar to Fr 1187 than to Codex 70 or Br 255. The scribe used a square pes and both a square and round clavis, and wrote the virga with a wide flag extending left from the upper third of the stem. This shape of the virga can be compared to many French and Anglo-French sources, and perhaps more than any other neume illustrates the direction French notation was taking toward square notes.¹⁶¹ The music scribe appears

¹⁶⁰ Eyolf Østrem, *The office of Saint Olav* (2001), 28-68, esp. 28-45. There is mention of a mass for Olaf being celebrated in Chapter 10 of Magnus the Good's saga for him, and a mass was proscribed in the laws of Nidaros in the second half of the twelfth century, but the early sources only preserve an office. See *The office of Saint Olav* (2001), 7-8 and 37.

¹⁶¹ The virga, and in fact almost all of the neume shapes in Fr 1600, can be compared in shape—if not necessarily in style—to Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A. 339

to have kept a fairly loose sense of horizontal spacing in his notes. In general groups of neumes stacked on top of each other are read from bottom to top, as in the scandicus figure made from a virga followed by a square pes. This is made intuitively clear through the leaning ductus of the notation in general, and through the scribe's consistent practice of slightly orientating the notes from left to right—for example, in the scandicus the beginning of the pes is aligned just to the right of the top of the virga, and even the pes itself is leaning in such a way that the upper note is aligned just to the right of the lower note: thus, reading naturally from left to right it is intuitive that the notes should be read virga, lower pes note, upper pes note.

However, there are a number of instances where this alignment does not hold true, and it becomes difficult to tell the direction in which a group of vertically aligned neumes is intended to be sung. Therefore, the music scribe used the virga and punctum to help identify whether a vertical group should be sung as ascending or descending notes. For the most part the division between virga and punctum followed standard practice: the virga was used in any neume group that contained ascending motion—for example, in the scandicus—and the punctum was used to signify descending motion in a neume group—for example, in the climacus. However, there are several places where the scribe used a virga and punctum together, and in this case the punctum represents the higher notes, with the virga symbolizing the end of the descending line. This is seen quite clearly in at the end of the Alleluia's *jubilus* on fol. 1r, where the torculus flexus is accompanied by three descending notes, the last of which is a virga. In the top line of fol. 1v at 'prodigia', the final melisma is set up by a climacus on F-E-D—using a virga and two puncta as normal to illustrate the descending line—but later in the melisma the descent from A-F is symbolized by a punctum followed by a virga, both in exact vertical alignment. This could have been a space-saving device to allow the scribe to write descending figures vertically in the same way he wrote ascending figures.

However, not all of the descending figures are written this way, and instances where it is used do not always require saving space. Farther down the folio, in the verse *Dextera tua domine* at 'confregit', the melisma features an undulating melodic line that uses a

(248), a characteristic example of north French notation. The note heads in Rouen Ms. A. 339 (248) have attained the prominent, distinctly square shape that would be the hallmark of the so-called 'quadrata' notation, while still keeping the notehead of the virga as a 'flag', protruding about two-thirds of the way up the stem.

pes and virga ascension (seemingly reversing the virga-pes arrangement of the scandicus), followed by descending puncta that terminate in a virga before the line ascends again. The descending line actually tucks back to the left, so that each note is just to the left of the note above it, despite there being plenty of room left in the line for the melisma.

Based on the palaeographical evidence, it is possible that the fragment's origin was in France. However, the unknown mass at the beginning of the fragment does appear to be arranged for a high political martyr, and if this is the case then it is most likely to be for Olaf of Sweden or Olaf of Norway. The presence of either of these masses would outweigh the palaeographical evidence, which can be explained as the sort of scribal complexity and hybridization of elements common in Swedish sources.

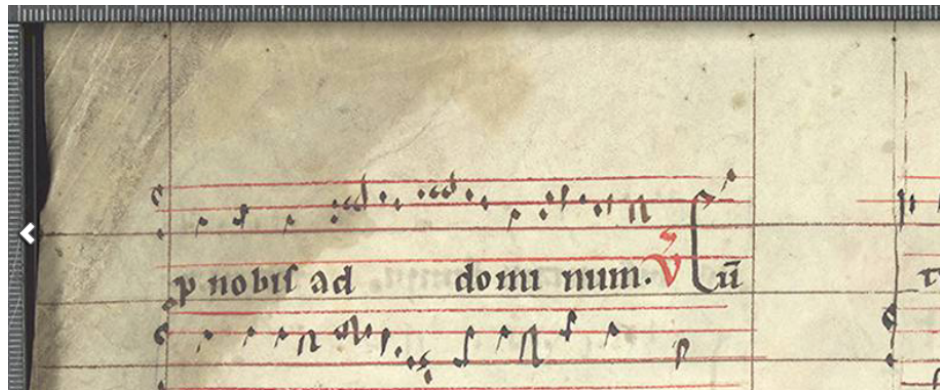
2.2.7 Br 255

Br 255 is one of the larger reconstructed sources in the MPO and FM, with thirty-five known fragments.¹⁶² The gatherings of Br 255 were prepared by pricking both the inner and outer margins at even intervals of 12mm, plus four prickings at the top and bottom to designate the vertical bounding lines (Figure 13a). This pricking pattern produces single bounding lines for each column, and the preparer diligently spaced the intercolumn width between the two columns to be precisely two lines of writing (i.e., 24mm). The writing area is 224mm x 120mm in 1-2-1 format for the bounding lines, making each column 100mm wide. The rulings were made in a brownish ink, with the top three and bottom three lines drawn across the entire bifolio; the rest of the writing lines are kept within the margins of each folio, across the intercolumn (Figure 13b). The writing throughout the manuscript fragment begins above the top line of the ruling.

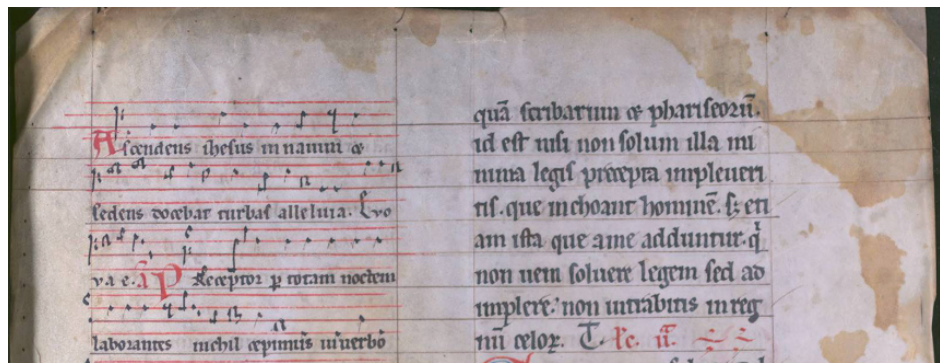
The notation of two music scribes survives in the fragment; the scribes will be named here as music scribes A and B, even though only music scribe A was involved in the initial production. Music scribe A wrote in a style primarily influenced by Anglo-French neumes. He wrote on a red staff, favouring the C- and F-clefs equally. Both clefs are of standard appearance, and the C-clef is always accompanied by a small mark two

¹⁶² MPO, Fr 2184, Fr 2615, Fr 7443, Fr 8646, Fr 8964, and Frs 31004-31033.

Figure 13. Layout of Br 255



a. The upper margin prickings on Fr 8964, using to guide the bounding lines

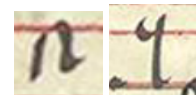


b. The ruling pattern on the upper portion of Fr 2184 recto.

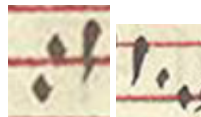
Figure 14. Notation of music scribe A in Br 255



a. Virga and pes.



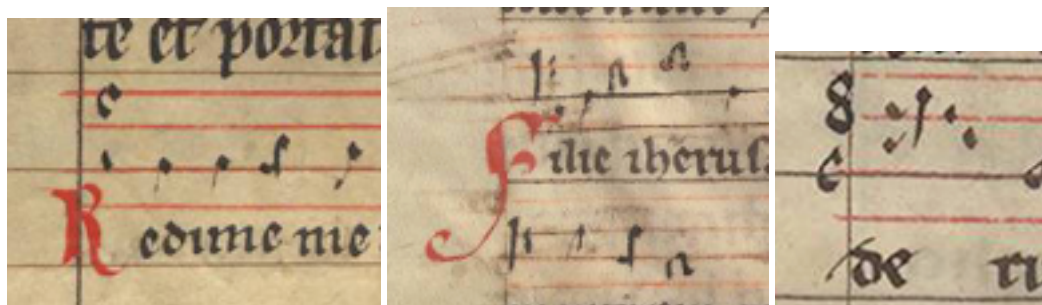
b. Round and square clavis.



c. Scandicus and climacus.



d. Torculus and quilisma.



e. C-clef alone (with F marked below), the F-clef alone, and the C- and G-clefs together.

occasionally in the manuscript, but always in combination with the C-clef and only on subsequent lines of a chant. Its form is in the rounded ‘figure-8’ shape distinctive of *Cursiva antiquior* scripts, which during the thirteenth century, Albert Derolez argues, lines directly below it to indicate where F is (Figure 14e). Occasionally he put the two clefs together, but only at the very beginning of a chant. A G-clef is also found was primarily an English speciality.¹⁶³ The rounded ‘b’ is never found as a clef marker, but does appear next to individual notes within the chants themselves.

Music scribe A's style of notation is idiosyncratic, and can be connected to multiple sources across Europe. The virga was drawn in two connected strokes—first a thin, angled upstroke followed by a thick, short downstroke to the right—creating the shape of a steep triangle or flagpole (Figure 14a). The shape and stroke order allows the virga to be drawn rapidly and with ease. It greatly resembles the virga seen in many manuscripts from twelfth-century Cambrai and Laon.¹⁶⁴ It is, however, uncommon in the fragments in Sweden. The scribe primarily used a rounded clivis, but also occasionally used a square clivis for unknown reasons; for the pes, however, he always used the square form, with a left-facing lower tail and a right-facing upper tail (Figures 14a and 14b). The use of square two-note neumes also concords with notations from northeast France, however the music scribe of Br 255 greatly preferred the rounded clivis, and drew it quite upright and angular, which is closer in look to the many twelfth-century Germanic notations that are also found throughout the Swedish fragments.

Quilismas are found frequently with a varying number of ‘teeth’ in sources from Sweden, quite often by a single scribe. Two or three teeth is the norm, although one and four are also found on occasion. In the case of Br 255, however, music scribe A strictly kept to two teeth, with only one exception: there is a single three-toothed quilisma in the responsory *Natiuitas gloriose uirginis* on Fr 8964, verso, outlining the interval of a minor third (Figure 14d). In her research on neumatic notation in Bamberg, Miriam

¹⁶³ Albert Derolez, *The palaeography of Gothic manuscript books* (2003), 88-89 and 133-40, esp. 134-37.

¹⁶⁴ See, for example, Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 28, Ms. 60 and Ms. 234, and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 207 and Ms. 226. However, in Cambrai and Laon the tendency was to overemphasize the flag to such an extent that the stem of the virga became secondary, even disappearing altogether. This can be seen in Cambrai, BM Ms. 27 and Ms. 46, and Laon, BM Ms. 262 and Ms. 263.

Wendling has noted that decisions to use a two- and three-toothed quilisma could at times be based on whether the interval in question was a major or minor third.¹⁶⁵ In the case of Br 255 at least, no such distinction was made. However, as in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 4, the quilisma of music scribe A does not seem to have been exclusively meant to signify the stepwise ascent of a third. In some cases it instead outlines a third skip, as in *Natiuitas gloriose uirginis* with the pitches D-D-F, and even more often produces only a second, as in *Aue maria* where a quilisma outlines the pitches A-A-B. Larger intervals are also found, such as a fourth produced in *Dixit autem dominus petro* on G-A-C.¹⁶⁶ It can, however, be associated to some extent with liquescence. Every single quilisma found in Br 255 is also found in the same place in two manuscripts from St Gall (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 388 and Cod. Sang. 391), where the quilisma was had strong associations with liquescence, though the St Gall manuscripts also use quite a few more quilismata throughout the same chants that are not found in Br 255.¹⁶⁷

Music scribe A did not use a pressus. However, where other sources do give a pressus in a particular chant, the main music scribe of Br 255 instead wrote a square clivis. This is the only time there seems to be a specific distinction between the round and square forms of the clivis in Br 255, and becomes especially clear when the pressus follows a clivis or torculus; in Br 255 this is always given as a rounded clivis or a torculus—whose shape is taken directly from the rounded clivis—connected to a square clivis. This can be seen in the responsories for the night office of the Nativity of Mary, for example, where each instance of the pressus is replaced with a square clivis connected to the previous rounded clivis or torculus (Figure 15). These can be compared to the same chants in manuscripts from Klosterneuburg where the pressus is always preserved, and from St Gall where the pressus is usually preserved, but may instead be presented as a separate round clivis.¹⁶⁸ It is true that this is also a feature of some

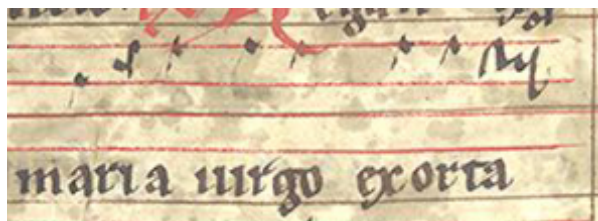
¹⁶⁵ Miriam Wendling, 'Musical notation in Bamberg 1007-1300' (2012), 107.

¹⁶⁶ MPO, Fr 8964, r-v and Fr 2184, recto. The italicized letters indicate the teeth of the quilisma.

¹⁶⁷ David Hiley, 'The plica and liquescence' (1984) discusses the continued associations between the quilisma (and later, the plica) and liquescence in repertories of plainchant similar to St Gall.

¹⁶⁸ Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, fol. 64rv; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 388, fols. 309-11, and Cod. Sang. 391, fols. 111-14.

Figure 15. Passage from *Regali ex progenie* in Fr 8964 recto, compared to Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, fol. 64v



Fr 8964, recto



Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, fol. 64v

contemporaneous manuscripts from both southern and northern France: two twelfth-century antiphoners from Marseille and St. Maur-des-Fosses in the Île-de-France regularly have a square clivis in places where the Klosterneuburg and St Gall antiphoners used a pressus.¹⁶⁹ The similarity illustrates two observations: first, that the influence of Anglo-Norman music scripts on the primary music scribe's notation extended to the types of neumes used, in this case the eventual abandonment of the pressus during the twelfth century; second, that the nature of the pressus itself—and the reasons for its gradual replacement with a square clivis in French manuscripts—means that this feature cannot be used to positively identify Br 255 with French practice over German practice. The function of the pressus, while having the possibility of a liquescent or otherwise performative aspect, nevertheless is primarily to designate the

¹⁶⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1090, fols. 210r-13r, an antiphoner of Marseille cathedral from the last decade of the twelfth century, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12044, fols. 180v-81r, a monastic antiphoner from the abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés outside of Paris, some time no doubt earlier in the century.

basic melodic interval of a descending tone or semitone, quite possibly after a unison.¹⁷⁰ With the adoption of the musical staff, however, the primary function of the pressus was made redundant; in fact, depending on a scribe's preferred way of drawing the pressus it could even become a significant problem, as the shape of the pressus may not necessarily lend itself to being drawn accurately on a pitch-specific staff. The torculus, quilisma and oriscus, on the other hand—all of which the music scribe of Br 255 did use regularly—could be carried over into lined notation with ease, as these shapes can conform to express precise pitches and still retain enough of their unique shapes to offer more performative information.

Music scribe A also incorporated a form of the ladle shape into his torculus and quilisma (Figure 14d), but the calligraphic properties of this shape are different for each neume: both are typically closed and formed of two separate strokes—one curved downstroke to draw the tooth, then a lift of the pen and a separate upward stroke to draw the stem or handle—but for the quilisma he tended toward an upright and rounded figure, and for the torculus he tended toward a leaning, angular figure. These could have come from a Germanic influence, but both the 'upright' and 'highly angled' varieties of the fully-formed ladle shape can also be seen in a few twelfth- and early thirteenth-century manuscripts from Cambrai and Laon as well, in particular Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 60 and Ms. 234, and Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 226.

The second music scribe of Br 255, music scribe B, added music above a small number of text incipits throughout the fragment.¹⁷¹ Music scribe B wrote in a similar continental style but used only non-heightened neumes, due to the space constraints of where he wrote (text incipits without the upper line left empty for music; Figure 16). Several of scribe B's shapes are calligraphically quite similar to the primary scribe A: the square pes is calligraphically the same, and the torculus and quilisma are also drawn similarly, even with the lift of the pen after the initial downstroke to create the tooth.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ David Hiley provides a brief discussion and historiography of the pressus and the oriscus from which it is assumed to have evolved in David Hiley, *Western plainchant* (1993), 359-61.

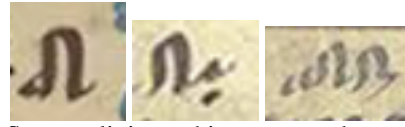
¹⁷¹ His notation can be seen on Fr 8964 recto, Fr 2184 verso, Fr 7443 verso, Fr 8646 r-v, and Fr 31025 recto.

¹⁷² Regarding the clivis, scribe B does use the rounded clivis, but only when connecting to other neumes, such as a pressus.

Figure 16. Notation of music scribe B in Br 255



a. Virga, pes and (round) clavis.



b. Square clavis used in compound neumes.



c. Scandicus and climacus.



d. Liquescents.

However, there is a striking difference in the form of the virga, namely that he drew it using the exact opposite strokes that scribe A used. Rather than beginning with a thin upstroke and ending with a thick downstroke, scribe B began with a short, thick stroke directly to the right, and ended with a tapered downstroke curving to the left. The two strokes may or may not have involved lifting the pen; if not, then the scribe must have made a brief upstroke just before terminating in the downstroke. Moreover, the right-down stroke combination at times was shortened into a single and continuously curving stroke, resembling a backwards 'C'. Scribe B's notation has a few other distinguishing marks: he used the same square clavis as music scribe A, but also incorporated the round clavis in compound neumes, for example when the clavis was attached to a pressus minor (Figure 16b). He also made moderately more use of liquescent shapes, and used a square pes similar that used in Anglo-Norman music scripts when drawing the scandicus (Figure 16c). This is the only time a pes of this shape is found in the notation of either scribe.

Attempts have been made to localize Br 255, but without success.¹⁷³ Individual folios survive from the calendar, the temporale and sanctorale cycles, and the common of saints, however, allowing some speculation. Many of the surviving offices contain twelve lessons, suggesting that it was copied for monastic use. The calendar covers the

¹⁷³ Oloph Odenius listed Bremen as the manuscript's origin, but he gave no reasons to support his claim; see Stockholm, Riksarkivet, CCM Br 255. It is possible that the presence of St Ansgar and St Rimbart, both archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, were figured as evidence. However, Bremen did not have a monopoly on the veneration of either saint. Until a detailed liturgical and palaeographical study can positively link the manuscript to Bremen, this assignment must be treated as merely speculative.

first four months of the year and contains three February feasts that feature prominently in the medieval Swedish liturgy: the feast of St Ansgar (3 February), the feast of St Rimbart (4 February) and the feast of St Sigfrid (of Sweden or Glastonbury, 15 February), which was added in a later hand. The presence of Sigfrid's feast in the calendar only as a later addition might be seen as evidence that the manuscript did not originate in Sweden, or that Br 255 in fact predates his feast: Sigfrid died in 1045 as the bishop of Växjö, but his feast begins to appear in fragments from the MPO and FM only in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁴

Within the surviving temporale are folios containing the fifth through seventh Sundays after Pentecost.¹⁷⁵ The sixth Sunday, which is the only one whose complete entry survives, contains three lessons taken from a homily on Matthew 5 attributed to St Augustine of Hippo: the texts for the night office begins with a reading from Matthew 5:20 'et reliqui', followed by lectiones i, ii and iii. Following the lessons is a capitulum, or chapter reading with an incipit for the accompanying versicle *In matutinis domine*.¹⁷⁶ Three fully notated antiphons follow, the first having the rubric 'In ewangelia'; in other words, the antiphons are presented as a selection for the greater canticles sung at lauds, vespers and compline.¹⁷⁷ A collect, here rubricated as an 'oratio', ends the office.¹⁷⁸ The form of this Sunday office is unusual. As a monastic Sunday office there should be twelve lessons provided for the night office, each with an accompanying responsory and divided evenly between three nocturns. Instead, Br 255 only gives three lessons, plus a capitulum and versicle: this was a standard Benedictine arrangement for night offices

¹⁷⁴ The thirteenth-century sources with Sigfrid, including their origin attributions in the MPO, are: Ant 123 (Fr 20315, Växjö?), Br 399 (Fr 22453, Linköping?), Br mi 1 (Fr 25013, Sweden), Br mi 6 (Fr 25020, Linköping?), Fr 7015 (Sweden).

¹⁷⁵ MPO, Fr 2184.

¹⁷⁶ The chapter reading is, 'Quicumque baptizati sumus in *christo ihesu*, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus'.

¹⁷⁷ The three antiphons are *Amen dico uobis nisi abundauerit* (CANTUS 1379), *Audistis quia dictum est* (CANTUS 1519), and *Si offers munus* (CANTUS 4903).

¹⁷⁸ The prayer is found in the Gelasian Sacramentary in the second set of mass prayers for Sundays, a collection of prayers which Henry Austin Wilson confirmed were almost identical to the Sunday mass prayers between Pentecost and Advent in the sacramentaries of Rheinau and St-Gallen: 'Deus uirtutum. cuius est totu[m]. quod est optimu[m]. insere pectoribus n[ost]ris amorem tui nominis. [et] pr[est]a in nobis religionis augmentu[m]. ut que su[n]t bona nutrias; ac pietatis studio que sunt nutrita custodias.' Henry Austin Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (1894), xxviii and 687.

held during the weekdays in winter, where only two nocturns were observed, the first with three lessons and the second with the capitulum and versicle.¹⁷⁹ The early Cistercian breviary Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. Oct. 402 provides the same subject matter in its lessons for the sixth Sunday after Pentecost, both even referring to homilies attributed to Augustine, but the readings are entirely different between sources.¹⁸⁰ Berlin Ms. Lat. Oct. 402 also provides a single collect for all of the offices for that Sunday, and this is found in Br 255 at the end of the office for the fifth Sunday after Pentecost; the prayer for the sixth Sunday is not found in the Berlin manuscript. Finally, the first and third antiphons from Br 255 are found in the Berlin manuscript with the canticles for lauds and vespers, but the middle antiphon is not found: instead, vespers is provided with a general antiphon, *Dixit dominus*, which again is found on the fifth Sunday in Br 255.

The fragments suggest that the manuscript originated and was used in an unstable environment. The scribal hands are varied, and the irregular handling of liquescence and special neumes suggests a lack of consistency in how each scribe conceived of the notation. The liturgy appears monastic, and possibly with Cistercian influence, but the short arrangement seems out of character for its season. The best localizing liturgical evidence, the presence of St Sigfrid in the calendar, was a later addition. Without the evidence of Sigfrid, there is nothing to suggest whether the manuscript originated in Sweden or Germany, but in either case it was most likely in Sweden when Sigfrid was added.

2.2.8 Codex 70

Jan Brunius listed Codex 70 as one of his group of manuscript fragments whose pre-sixteenth-century provenance can likely be deduced from the provincial accounts to which they were bound; in the case of Codex 70, this is Östergötland.¹⁸¹ His criteria were that a manuscript have five or more fragments identified, and that at least the

¹⁷⁹ Descriptions of the ferial office in winter can be found in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (1993), 27, and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office* (1982), nos. 404-406. Hughes' example uses the Benedictine house of Hyde Abbey as a basis, from John B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The monastic breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, vol. 6 (1942), 221-24, and Chapter 9 of the *Regula Benedicti*.

¹⁸⁰ Chrysogonus Waddell, ed., *The primitive Cistercian breviary* (2007), 346-49.

¹⁸¹ See Plates 3 and 23 for examples of Codex 70.

overwhelming majority of those fragments, if not all of them, survive in the accounts from a single provincial archive.¹⁸² In the MPO its origin is given variably—and tentatively—as either England or North France, depending on the contributor’s expertise in regards to textual or musical palaeography.¹⁸³

The six fragmentary sources—two single folios and four bifolios—were all used to cover Östergötland accounts in 1587-90. What is interesting is how the account preparers selected and preserved the fragment folios. All of the fragments contain some music and often a series of initials (which are all made entirely in red), and almost all of the large red initials and staves of music survived unmarked by the accountants who repurposed them as book covers. Fr 448 fol. Ar illustrates the amount of writing that needed to be placed on these fragments, often on both the front and back ‘covers’ of the book. The accountants often had to rub out large portions of a fragment’s existing material in order to make room for their own information. The most efficient manner in which to make room would have been to scratch out the blocks of music, where there is much less ink to remove. However, the preparer (or preparers) instead chose to rub out blocks of text. It could be argued that the text was chosen for erasure because of the difficulty in erasing the red ink, but the staff lines of Codex 70 were drawn in a brown nearly as dark as the text itself and is also quite faded, while the text erasure makes the ledger extremely difficult to read. In any case, the result is that the music, rubrics and large initials were preserved. Moreover, when reconstructing the fragments back into their proper order it becomes apparent that the missing folios which would have sat between them would have contained lengthy blocks of text without music or large initials. In fact, the general arrangement of fragment selection and binding is the same as can be seen in Mi 56 *et al.* The arrangement of the surviving folios suggests that folios which contained only text were avoided for some reason, but there are too many possibilities to claim why this happened: they could have been deliberately overlooked by the dismantler, or held back by the owning priest, or even discarded from previous damage; or, they may have been used to bind an account that has since been lost.

The ruling layout of Codex 70 is in two columns, with twenty-eight evenly spaced lines 8-9mm apart, although this can vary at times to as much as 10mm (Figure

¹⁸² Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 163.

¹⁸³ MPO, Frs 432, 433, 448, 449 and 466. The attributions were recorded after consultation with David Chadd, Michelle Brown and Richard Gameson.

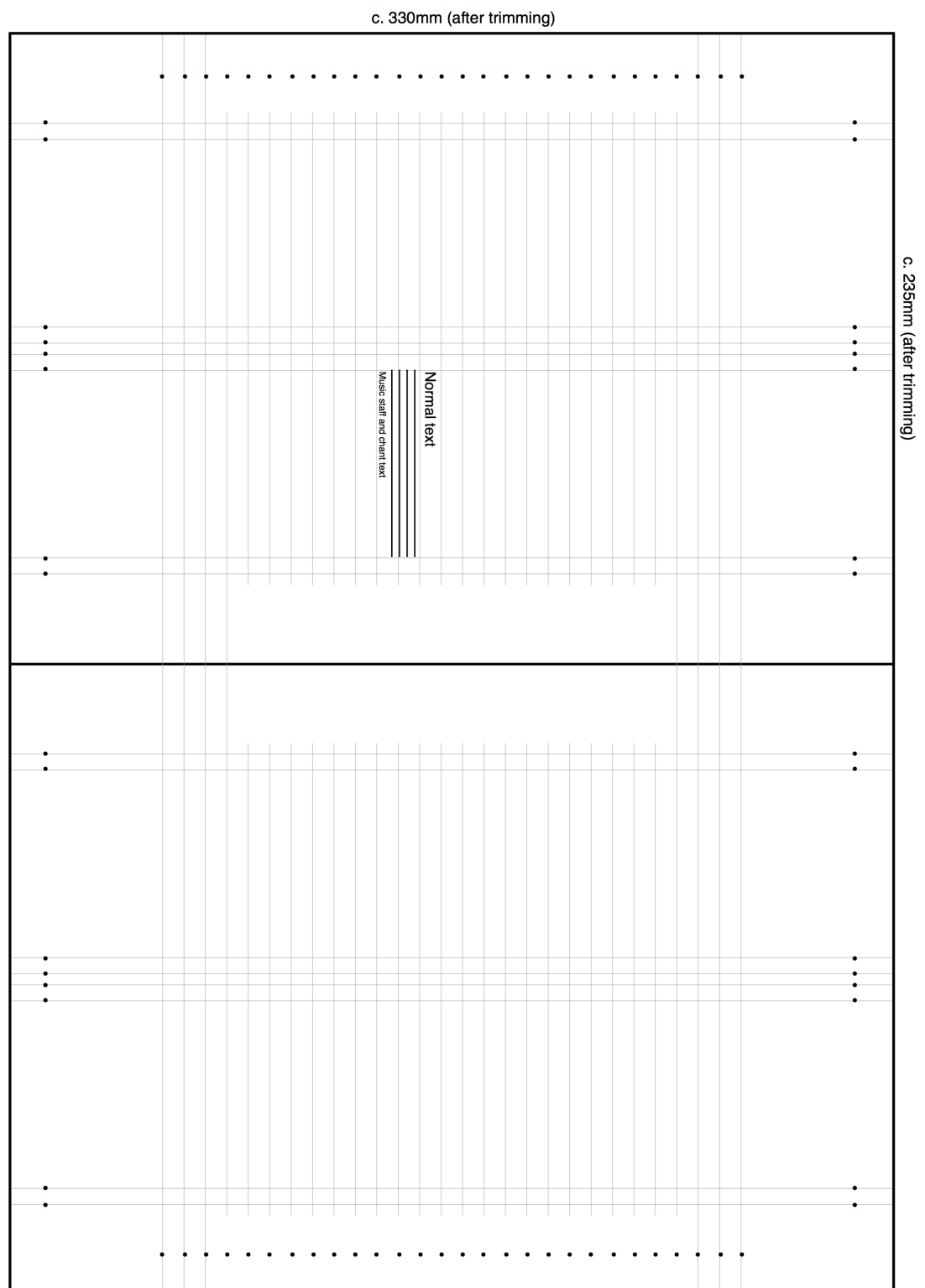
17). By observing fragments which belong to the same gathering it can be deduced that the folios were pricked and ruled according to standard practice: that is, that an entire gathering was pricked all at once, and then unfolded so that the bifolio sheets could be scored with drypoint.¹⁸⁴ This can be seen in the individual measurements between lines, which remain consistent on folios from the same gathering.¹⁸⁵ Only the prickings for the vertical bounding lines can be seen in the upper and lower margins of each folio; the horizontal-line prickings in the outer margin were all trimmed off during the production of the manuscript. The vertical prickings are arranged in pairs, spaced about 6mm apart, so that the layout of vertical bounding lines is 2-4-2 rather than the more common 2-3-2. It also produces a layout where the spacing of the bounding lines are actually noticeably larger than half the width of the horizontal guiding lines. This can be contrasted with Br 255, for example, which has a 2-3-2 format and where the bounding lines are evenly spaced at exactly the same width as the horizontal lines. In fact, in Codex 70 the intercolumn bounding lines are only spaced about 4mm apart, to create an overall intercolumn width of 16mm, so that none of the vertical rulings produce any simple ratios with the horizontal rulings. This draws attention to John Haines' argument that scribes in the twelfth century showed increasing interest in ruling and formatting the size of text and music according to the golden ratio.¹⁸⁶ Codex 70 can be regarded within this tradition: while its pricking patterns may not maintain the same simple, even ratios of Br 255, the relationship between the space given to horizontal guiding lines (9-10mm) and vertical bounding lines (6mm), as well as the space between the intercolumn (16mm) and the horizontal guiding lines, produce ratios remarkably close to 5:3. The 70mm-wide columns, which combine with the intercolumn to produce a horizontal writing block of c. 156mm x 240mm, produce a ratio roughly of 4.5:3, which itself is not far off. Following Haines' assertion on the ratio between music staff size and text spacing, the 10mm-tall staves offer roughly the same ratio to its underlying text: from the bottom of the text, which is slightly reduced in size from the general non-

¹⁸⁴ John Haines, 'On the Origins of the Musical Staff' (2008), 327-78 provides a valuable description of standard and changing practices in the preparation of parchment for manuscripts with music, especially 333-40 in regards to pricking and ruling lines.

¹⁸⁵ Nine of the ten surviving folios can be paired with at least one other folio from the same gathering; see below for a reconstruction.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. page 86.

Figure 17. Pricking and ruling pattern of Codex 70 (folios = c. 330mm × 235mm)



musical text of the manuscript, the text sits about 6mm beneath the bottom line of the music staff.

All of the music that survives in the missal fragment is from a single scribe whose neumes share many traits with scribes from northwestern Europe. The neume forms generally mirror those of Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 46, although the music scribe of Codex 70 retained a distinct flourish in the execution of his most of his own neumes, by placing a sharp curve at the beginning of the neume's first stroke, so that those beginning with an upstroke have an exaggerated hooked tail, and those beginning with a down or side stroke have a noticeable dip (Figure 18). Neither scribe differentiated between a virga and a punctum, but the scribe of Codex 70 added a short tail to puncta not attached to a combined neume. The staves were drawn in black rather than in red, with the second line of the staff drawn directly on the writing line. As can be seen in Plate 23, the spacing of the other three lines generally produces a total staff height of 10mm, but there is much more irregularity in the spacing and straightness of the staff lines than there is in the manuscript's drypoint ruling. The music scribe favoured using the F clef, which is always in the 'reverse' letter form also found in Fr 1187, a missal fragment from the 1573 Västergötland accounts with similar features to Codex 70. B-flats are placed with the clef where they occur.

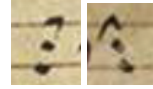
As with Cambrai 46, the music scribe of Codex 70 used a strict and limited set of neumes: the virga was discarded in favour of the punctum, as stated above; the pes is always in its square form, with both 'feet' facing to the left; the clivis is always in its square form, even when two clives are combined; the shape suggestive of the rounded clivis makes an appearance only within the torculus and its combined neumes; the porrectus, however, strictly combines the square clivis and pes shapes already used individually; and the shape of the upstroke, right-facing virga survives only in the climacus.

Three textual hands contributed to Codex 70. The first, who was the main scribe responsible for all of the original text, was highly skilled, and wrote in an angular English praegothica script that contains the same sort of flourishes as are found in the music notation, making it possible to suggest that they may be the same hand; the flourishes can be seen in the abbreviation line over **n**, the tail of **g**, the left strokes of **v** and **y**, and the unusual form of **z** (Figure 19a). He always wrote a straight **d**, with the only exceptions being in chant texts, where he sometimes wrote a round **d**, presumably

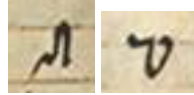
Figure 18. Notation in Codex 70



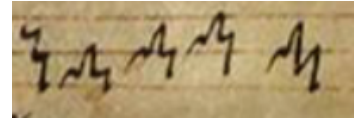
a. Virga, pes, clivis.



b. Scandicus and climacus.



c. Torculus and porrectus



d. 'Square' climacus and torculus combinations.

to help reduce the chant text size even more. The **ae** diphthong is indicated with an **e**-caudata (Figure 19b). The second and third hands both wrote emendations to the text, although they appear to have been at least a century or so apart, based on their style of script. The second hand corrected and edited the biblical readings throughout the fragments, and was probably contemporary with the main scribe (Figure 19c). The third hand wrote in a simple cursive script, and his only contributions were to label a number of the biblical readings with the new so-called Langton Bible chapter divisions (in arabic numerals), and a small one-line statement at the bottom of Fr 449 fol. 2r that has unfortunately been rubbed out and faded to the point of being illegible (Figure 19d). The Langton chapter divisions were devised probably at the University of Paris between 1205-06, were officially introduced in the Paris Bible in 1226, and from there were propagated throughout England, France and other parts of Europe.¹⁸⁷ Beryl Smalley suggested that widespread adoption of the Langton chapter divisions was complete by 1300.¹⁸⁸

The missal has four surviving bifolio sheets and two single folios, totalling ten folios. All of these come from the section of the manuscript covering Holy Week from Palm Sunday through Easter Sunday. The contents of each individual fragment are

¹⁸⁷ Otto Schmid, *Ueber verschieden Einteilungen der heiligen Schrift* (1892), 56-92; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), 223-24; Daniel Baumann, *Stephen Langton: Erzbischof von Canterbury im England der Magna Carta (1207-1228)* (2009), 34-37.

¹⁸⁸ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1952), 366.

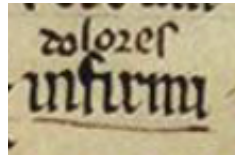
Figure 19. Textual script in Codex 70



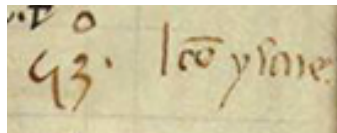
a. Straight **d** and abbreviation line over **n**, **g**, and **z** with *punctus elevatus* punctuation.



b. **E**-caudata, and the curled stroke of **v** and **y**.



c. Second scribe, who corrected the text.



d. Third scribe, who added Langton Bible numbers.

easily assembled into a logical progression to create a hypothesized foliation for them (Tables 16 and 17). Furthermore, a brief analysis of the readings for the mass can be used to estimate the gathering structure of the fragments, showing more or less how many folios are missing from this section of the manuscript. For example, the gospel reading for Palm Sunday (Matthew 26-27) begins on Fr 448 fol. A and ends on Fr 432 fol. A1; furthermore, Fr 448 fol. B contains the mass for Tuesday in Holy Week, so the two must have been in the same gathering, with Fr 432 as the innermost bifolio sheet of the gathering. Not all of the gospel reading is present, however: there is a considerable lacuna between the two folios of 686 words. With the average spacing of text in Codex 70 of something around six words per line, this block of text would have taken up at least 3.75 columns or more. In other words, there is very likely to be one folio missing between the two fragments, which entirely contained text from the gospel reading. Additionally, Fr 448 fol. B ends right in the middle of the Tuesday gospel reading (Mark 14-15), and here the lacuna is very great: 1312 words in all. The next surviving

Table 16. Contents of individual fragments in Codex 70

Fragment	Folio	From	To
Fr 432	fols. A1-A2	Palm Sunday: gospel reading	Monday: gospel reading
	fol. B (single)	Friday: gospel reading	Friday: evening reading
Fr 433	fol. A	Tuesday: offertory	Wednesday: lesson reading
	fol. B	Thursday: lesson reading	Friday: tract verses
Fr 448	fol. A	Palm Sunday: tract verses	Palm Sunday: gospel reading
	fol. B	Tuesday: introit	Tuesday: gospel reading
Fr 449	fols. 1-2	Friday: evening liturgy	Saturday: exultet
Fr 466	(single)	Easter Sunday: lesson reading	Easter Sunday: benedictions

Table 17. Fragments in Codex 70, rearranged into liturgical order

Fragment	Folio	Liturgy introduced
Fr 448	fol. A	Palm Sunday
Fr 432	fols. A1-A2	Monday
Fr 448	fol. B	Tuesday
Fr 433	fol. A	Wednesday
Fr 433	fol. B	Thursday, Friday
Fr 432	fol. B	(Friday continued)
Fr 449	fols. 1-2	Saturday
Fr 466	(single)	Easter Sunday

folio, Fr 433 fol. A, begins right at the opening rubric of the offertory that immediately follows the reading, so it can be deduced that all 1312 of the missing words, and only those words, were on the intervening folios. This probably would have filled up a full eight columns, meaning that Fr 448 fol B and Fr 433 fol. A were separated by two folios, with Fr 432 being the innermost sheet in the gathering. The manuscripts in the MPO whose foliation schemes can be deduced all appear to have been prepared as quaternions—that is, in groups of four bifolio sheets to produce eight folios in all—and it seems most likely that the same would be true for Codex 70. If it were prepared in quaternions, then there seems to be only one possibility for reconstruction: Fr 448 and Fr 432 formed a single gathering with two lost bifolios, one between Fr 448 and Fr 432 and one on the outside, followed by another gathering with Fr 433 and three missing bifolios, of which Fr 433 was second from the outside.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ See Figure 20 for a visual reconstruction of the foliation scheme.

A third gathering can be reconstructed from Fr 432 fol. B and Fr 449, with two missing sheets on the outside. The gap of six folios that is created between Fr 433 and Fr 432 fol. B is certainly enough to contain the lacuna between the first tract and the end of the gospel reading for Friday, making it unlikely that there were any other intervening gatherings. However, after Fr 449 ends at the Exultet, the manuscript's final surviving fragment, Fr 466, jumps directly to the middle of Easter mass, skipping what was probably a substantial portion of the liturgy in between. There is no way of knowing whether any lost gatherings, or how many, were placed between the third gathering and the gathering with Fr 466.

The masses presented in Codex 70 follow the formulas and chants common to Holy Week throughout western European manuscripts, but from Maundy Thursday onwards the missal fragment can be compared to certain English uses. The service for Maundy Thursday concords with the use of Sarum, except that it ends immediately after the postcommunion prayer that simultaneously completes mass and vespers.¹⁹⁰ The washing of the altars and the Maundy ceremony are not present.¹⁹¹ Good Friday opens with a brief rubric, partially edited for clarification by the corrector scribe, ordering the presbyter to hold mass in white vestments, beginning with a lesson to be read out while standing before the altar.¹⁹²

The chants and prayers that follow also agree with Sarum use except for a single detail. In the sources used in J. Wickham Legg's edition of the Sarum missal, during the unveiling of the cross the chant *Ecce lignum crucis* is not given a verse, but instead follows immediately into the chant *Crucem tuam adoramus*, which has the verse *Deus misereatur nostri*; in Codex 70 *Deus misereatur nostri* is used as the verse for *Ecce lignum*, and *Crucem tuam* is given another verse, *Beati immaculati*, which is not part of the Good Friday liturgy in Legg's sources.¹⁹³ This precise arrangement is found, however, in the use of Hereford, whose Maundy Thursday and Good Friday liturgy also

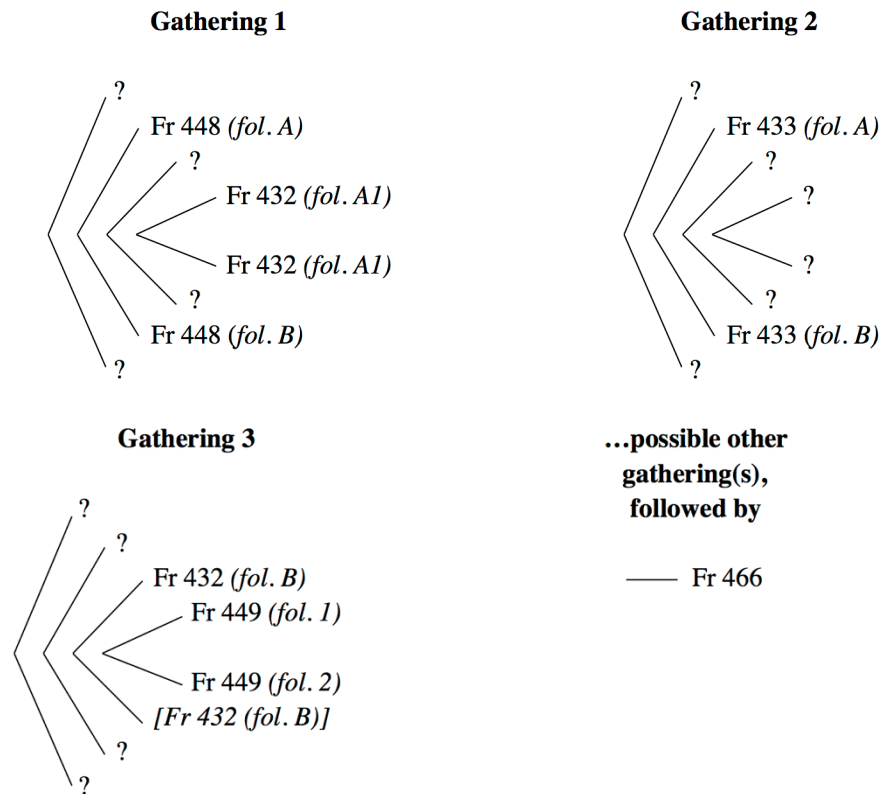
¹⁹⁰ 'Refecti uitalibus alimentis quesumus domine. deus noster. ut quod tempore nostre mortalitatis exequimur. in mortalitatis tue munere consequamur. Per' (Fr 433 fol. Bv).

¹⁹¹ Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, vol. 2 (1901), 68.

¹⁹² 'In parasceue ad missam induat se presbiter albus [corrector's hand: et casula] et stans ante altare', and then 'legat hanc prophetiam' (Fr 433 fol. Bv).

¹⁹³ MPO, Fr 449 fol. 1rv.

Figure 20. Conjectured reconstruction of fragments in Codex 70



parallel Salisbury in all other respects.¹⁹⁴ This alone is not enough to say that Codex 70 follows Hereford use. Hereford itself followed Sarum in most cases, and William Smith's recent study of Hereford sources shows that not all sources agree on where they differ from Sarum use.¹⁹⁵ For now, Codex 70 can best be described as largely following Sarum, with some differences which also happen to appear in at least some known sources of Hereford.

2.2.9 General remarks on fragments with staffed notation

In terms of design, the manuscripts exhibit a certain uniformity despite their many differences. The large initials are typically of varying colours and with reserved

¹⁹⁴ William Smith, *The use of Hereford* (2015), 263; W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis* (1874), 94-95; John Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (1916), 113.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

floral decorations, though all-red initials and arabesque initials exist. They may be ruled for one column but are typically found in two columns. The most common features of two-column layout is with prickings in both margins, double bounding lines in a 2-3-2 format, and with the bounding lines spaced evenly with the horizontal ruling lines (a 1:1 or 2:1 vertical-horizontal ratio; see Table 18); however, the difference is narrow, and cannot be taken to reflect an ideal or standard practice. About half of the fragments deviate on one or two of these features. For example, Br 255 has only single bounding lines (1-2-1), with a 2:1 spacing for the intercolumn lines, providing the same intercolumn width as if the parchment were in fact ruled 1-3-1 (or 2-3-2, for that matter). Codex 70 uses double bounding lines, but uses a more nuanced vertical-horizontal ratio than a simple 1:1, and also provides an extra space in the intercolumn (2-4-2). Both Br 12 + Codex 763 and Mi 580 follow the hypothetical ‘standard’ layout exactly, differing from each other only in whether the initial prickings were done in both margins or in the outside margin only.

The liturgical contents between them provide an interesting array of English, French and Franco-Germanic influences, though in most cases the comparisons are just as inconclusive as the layout evidence. Br 1675 shows clear Sarum influence, but still varies in some ways. Br 12 + Codex 763 contains offices both for saints particular to England and saints particular to northeastern France, but neither fully bars the possibility of a French or English origin. It is both easy and tempting to treat these features as evidence of hybrid scribal and liturgical practices, seeing certain practices—violet and ochre initials, 2-3-2 layouts, prickings on both margins, and especially the similarities to the Sarum rite and the presence of saints like Cuthbert—as characteristically ‘English’, and the rest—all-red initials, 1-2-1 layouts, feasts for St Remaclus or chant texts known mostly from German sources—as characteristic of a separate influence, whether that be described as ‘French’, ‘Frankish’, ‘German’, ‘Franco-Germanic’ or whatever else. By treating these features as indicative of a particular regional practice, their combined presence within the same manuscript becomes compelling evidence that the manuscripts themselves are the products of a hybrid scribal culture of the sort that is likely to have existed in Sweden at the time. It becomes all too simple, therefore, to consider these features as being evidence for a Swedish or Scandinavian origin.

Table 18. Comparison of the layouts of manuscripts with staffed notation studied in Chapter 2

Manuscript	Columns	Prickings	Bounding lines	margin-writing line ratios
Br 12 <i>et al.</i>	2	outer & inner	2-3-2	1:1
Br 1675	2	outer only	2-3-2	1:2 (outer), 1:1 (inner)
Br 255	2	?	1-2-1	2:1 (inner)
Codex 70 (missal)	2	outer only	2-4-2	c. 3:5
Fr 1187 (missal)	2	outer & inner	1-2-1	1:1 (inner)
Fr 1600 (missal)	2	?	1-?-1	?
Mi 56 <i>et al.</i>	1	outer only	1-1	n/a
Mi 580	2	outer only	2-3-2	1:1

However, it must be remembered that this may not reflect the reality of the situation at all. Each of the French saints whose feasts appear in the fragments can also be found in at least one English manuscript, and vice versa; and even Ker's own observations on the use of coloured initials or single- vs double-bounding lines in English manuscript production in the twelfth century are not without a significant number of exceptions. To treat any single feature as categorical evidence for a regional practice, and to equate the presence of two different features therefore with a hybrid and thus 'frontier' practice, would be a misrepresentation and a misunderstanding of the complexities—and inherently variable natures—of scriptoria and scribes in twelfth-century Europe.

Chapter 3

Case studies in Anglo-Swedish liturgical transmission: the Conception of Mary and the office of St Oswald of Northumbria

There is no doubt that Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman liturgical practice had a profound influence on the contemporary churches of Scandinavia. John Toy has found more than seventy English local saints in liturgical books and fragments now in Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, often intermixed with Scandinavian or German local saints.¹ Several of the fragments have been included in studies of English liturgical sources, which are discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. However, the fragments used in such studies have been selected primarily by their palaeographical similarities to English manuscripts, and analysed as English sources. There has yet to be much work that compares these fragments to other Scandinavian sources as fully as they do to English sources.

Performing precisely such studies is necessary, however: as evidence for a sustained English liturgical presence in early and high medieval Scandinavia continues to grow, the English sources will only be able to be fully understood within that context. For this reason, I have selected two out of many possible case studies to present here, with the intent of illustrating how a combined liturgical comparison of these sources not only can illuminate the bridge between medieval English and Swedish liturgical practices, but also can fill in some gaps of knowledge in our current understanding of these feasts in England.

Each case study covers different ground, to cast as wide a net as possible. St Oswald was selected primarily for several reasons. St Oswald's cult was local to specific regions during the period in question—his cult was present in the British Isles and along the southern Rhine, and both regions contributed their own liturgies for him—and this

¹ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009). Cf. page 95.

allows for some interesting comparisons of the relative influence between English and Germanic liturgies for Oswald in the Swedish sources. Oswald's feast continued to be observed in Scandinavia right through the fifteenth century, as well, and there are quite a few fragments preserving the liturgy for his feast, allowing for a broader chronological scope than some other English local saints.² Finally, his two proper offices—one composed in England and one composed on the continent—were both created probably in the first half of the twelfth century, right at the time that the Swedish dioceses were in their most rapid phase of development, allowing arguments to be made over the new church's ability to remain connected with new liturgical movements elsewhere in Europe.

The feast of the Conception of Mary, however, permits a different set of comparisons. Rather than being the feast of a local English saint, the feast of the Conception is a universal feast, one of the apocryphally biographical feasts of the Virgin Mary. In the later Middle Ages it was observed throughout Europe, but it has been argued that its origins in the west were in the late Anglo-Saxon period, as a particularly English expression of Marian devotion (it was a feast peculiar to Byzantium before that).³ Features from the Anglo-Saxon feast of the Conception can be traced through a number of the fragments in Sweden, an important observation as so little of the Anglo-Saxon feast is known to survive. With these fragments I hope to demonstrate that much of our understanding of how the Conception feast was developed in the west is based on assumptions regarding the lack of available evidence, rather than on demonstrable observations using surviving examples and their contexts.

The two case studies are also taken from two sides of the liturgical life of a religious community. The surviving Anglo-Saxon sources for the Conception feast only provide the mass; by contrast, two proper offices were composed for St Oswald, one probably in Durham and one probably in Bergues, but neither place seems to have composed a unique proper mass for the saint. Because of this, all scholarship on the early Conception feast has been limited to the mass, and that on Oswald's feast has been limited to the two offices. Twelfth-century offices for the Conception and masses for

² John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 151-62 identifies ninety sources now in Scandinavia, dated from the twelfth to sixteenth century, which contain some information relating to Oswald's liturgical cult.

³ Cf. Section 3.1 below.

Oswald certainly exist in the Scandinavian sources and elsewhere, but I have chosen to cast my net where others have already fished and will be examining only the Conception mass the Oswald offices. Eventually it will be necessary to conduct more complete studies of both feasts, incorporating the office, mass, legends and so on, but even these studies, limited in scope as they are, show how promising such an enterprise would be.

3.1 The Mass of the Conception of Mary in Sweden

The early history of the feast of the Conception of Mary in western Europe is still not very well understood. As with other apocryphal feasts based on the Virgin's life, the feast of the Conception was originally celebrated by the Byzantine church, sometime just before the eighth century.⁴ It was, however, a late addition in comparison to the others, and in many ways it was the last Marian biographical feast—the only feast of the Virgin's life to be developed after the feast of the Conception is that of the Visitation, which was created several hundred years later.⁵

The Conception feast was comparatively late coming to western Europe. By the middle of the ninth century, when it and the feast of the Presentation had both become standard features of the Byzantine rite, the other four Marian feasts—the Purification, Assumption, Annunciation and Nativity—were being celebrated in Rome, but it was perhaps another two centuries before the latter feasts were transmitted into western

⁴ When the Conception feast was created it was added to a corpus of five other Marian feasts with biographical themes: the Purification, the Assumption, the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Presentation. Surveys of the early Byzantine history of the feast can be found in Cornelius A. Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception in the liturgy' (1958), 114-23, and Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 25-29. Bouman, in his timeline, argued that the feast's earliest evidence dates to the late seventh century (a matins office written by St Andrew of Crete), and by the middle of the ninth century was in general use in the Byzantine rite, at a time when the four oldest feasts of the Virgin (i.e., all but the Presentation, which is not much older than the Conception) were now being celebrated in Rome.

⁵ The feast of the Visitation was not confirmed until the Council of Basle (Basel) in 1431-45, after which it was fairly quickly adopted by, amongst others, the Dominicans; it appears, for example, in the Insular Dominican manuscript Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. B.3.1 (the Kilcormac Missal), copied in 1458. See Hugh Jackson Lawlor, 'The Kilcormic Missal: A manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin' (1901), 410.

liturgies.⁶ By the late fourteenth century the feast was celebrated throughout the continent. Ultimately, how it was transmitted to the west in the eleventh century, and the first generations of its development there, remain unknown.⁷ According to the surviving manuscript evidence, the feast of the Conception of Mary was likely introduced into Anglo-Saxon England sometime in the early or mid-eleventh century, and from there mentions of the feast can be found in sources from Normandy in the 1120s. Liturgical sources outside of England are found from c. 1129 on, first in Normandy and then throughout northern France. In fact, the Normans were seen to dominate this feast during this century and the next, providing it with its alternative popular name, ‘*la fête aux Normands*’.⁸

It is not entirely surprising that Anglo-Saxon England would be credited with the introduction of the Conception feast into the west. Interest in Mary as a saintly devotional figure in England can be traced back to the beginning of the eighth century, from Insular authors including Adamnan, Aldhelm and Bede.⁹ Over the course of the next two centuries the four principal feasts celebrated in Rome can be found adopted into insular liturgical sources, piecemeal and at times rather haphazardly: through Bede's writings it is certain that the feasts of the Purification and the Annunciation were by then in use, but several other eighth-century insular sources indicate that the feasts of the Assumption and the Nativity were at best known only superficially and from afar—but nevertheless were recorded into the calendars, at times on mistaken dates or under misinterpreted names.¹⁰ By the eleventh century the four Roman feasts of the Virgin had

⁶ Cornelius A. Bouman, ‘The Immaculate Conception in the liturgy’ (1958), 114-15.

⁷ The various stances and possibilities of transmission into the west are summarized, critiqued and expanded in Cornelius A. Bouman, ‘The Immaculate Conception in the liturgy’, in *The dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and significance* (1958), 123-35; Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 40-51; and Stephen J.P. Van Dijk, ‘The Origin of the Latin Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary’, *The Dublin Review* 228 (1954), 253-67 and 428-41, esp. 253-67. Clayton’s work builds primarily on Van Dijk’s, and so can be read as more current interpretation of his views.

⁸ *Idem*, 137.

⁹ Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 14-15.

¹⁰ *Idem*, 31-38. Clayton noted that, while the six Marian feasts tended to be developed and transmitted in pairs—the Purification and Assumption, the Annunciation and Nativity, and the Presentation and Conception—this does not appear to have been the case in England except for the last pair, which appear simultaneously in sources mentioned below, from the early-mid eleventh century.

been consolidated in England and each had been elevated to a fairly important status, at times with vigils or octaves; the votive Saturday mass and office for the Virgin, growing out of a continental Carolingian tradition, were also well known in England by this time.¹¹

However, the early evidence of the adoption of the feast in England is spotty at best. The feast is witnessed in only three calendars, two benedictionals and two sacramentaries, with very few liturgical items or directions surviving: between the four liturgical sources carrying the feast, the only elements given are a setting of mass prayers and some benediction blessings. The three calendars are found in the Portiforium of St Wulstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 391), a manuscript that is associated with St Mary's cathedral priory in Worcester;¹² a miscellany copied by or for Ælfwine when he was dean and later abbot of the New Minster (London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus D. xxvii);¹³ and a liturgical calendar originally intended for the New Minster in Winchester but which ultimately lived at the Old Minster instead (London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Vitellius E. xviii).¹⁴ Between the various attributions of dating and provenance for these sources, Mary Clayton has deduced that the feast was likely introduced into England at Winchester at some point around the year 1030.¹⁵ There are two sources containing benediction blessings associated with the

¹¹ *Idem*, 41-42. The principal texts for the votive feast can be found edited in Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars: Before A.D. 1100* (1988).

¹² Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy in medieval England* (2009), 126-29 provides a exhaustive bibliography and historiographical overview of the manuscript. An catalogue entry and digital facsimile is available at *Parker Library on the web* (https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=391, accessed 27 July, 2016). An image catalogue focusing on scribal hands can be found on DigiPal (<http://www.digipal.eu/digipal/manuscripts/1793/>, accessed 13 January, 2017).

¹³ The most recent edition and study of the manuscript is Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine's prayerbook* (1993). A catalogue entry with notes can be found in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts* (2001), no. 380. An image catalogue focusing on scribal hands can be found on DigiPal (<http://www.digipal.eu/digipal/manuscripts/946/>, accessed 13 January, 2017).

¹⁴ Catalogue information at the British Library's *Explore Archives and Manuscripts* website (http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-001103106, accessed 27 July, 2016).

¹⁵ Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 42-43. Her dating relies in part on Anselm Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan* (1958-60), who dated Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 391 to the year 1065, and on

feast: these are the Canterbury Benedictional (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2892), which dates from the second quarter of the century (specifically, after 1023), and the Exeter Benedictional (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 28188), from the third quarter of the century; both manuscripts have been shown to have connections not only to the cathedral priories of Canterbury (Christ Church) and Exeter (St Marys), but also to Winchester.¹⁶

The prayers for the feast's mass are preserved in the mid-eleventh-century New Minster Missal (Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 330), and in the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 579), a ninth-century manuscript with additions—which include the feast in question—made for Exeter cathedral probably after the Conquest, but before bishop Leofric's death in 1072.¹⁷ Their three prayers are identical, and Le Havre, Ms. 330 also contains a preface:

Prefatio

per Christum dominum nostrum. Cuius uirginis matris
conceptionis sollempnia deuotis mentibus recolentes, tue
magnificentiae preconia non tacemus, quam ante ortum ita
sanctificasti, ante conceptum sic sancti spiritus illustratione et
uirtute altissimi obumbrasti, ut templum domini, sacrarium
spiritus sancti, mundi domina, celi regina, sponsa Christi, et
unici filii Dei foeta mater effici, et post partum uirginitatis
insigniis perpetualiter meruisset decorari. Et ideo.

[Oratio]

Deus, qui beate Mariae uirginis conceptionem angelico uaticinio
parentibus predixisti, presta huic presenti familiae tuae eius
presidiis muniri, cuius conceptionis sacra sollempnia congrua
frequentatione ueneratur.

Edmund Bishop, 'On the origins of the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary' (1918), 239, who dated the relevant section of London, British Library, Cotton Ms. Titus D. xxvii to Ælfwine's abbacy between 1032-57. The dating of LBL, Cotton Ms. Vitellius E. xviii has been subject to debate: Edmund Bishop, 'On the origins of the feast of the Conception' (1918), 239 dated it to c. 1030; Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (1988), 155, dated it to c. 1060; and N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957), 298, dated it to the middle of the century. Bishop's date is based strictly on internal textual evidence, as the metrical calendar tables start with the year 1030.

¹⁶ See Reginald Woolley, *The Canterbury Benedictional* (1917); Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 45-46.

¹⁷ Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 45.

Secreta

Sanctifica, domine, muneris oblatis libamina, et beate Dei genitricis saluberrima interuentione, nobis salutaria fore concede.

Complenda

Repleti uitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati mysteriis, supplices rogamus, omnipotens Deus, beate Mariae semper uirginis cuius uenerandam colimus conceptionem pia interuentione, a squalorum erui inmanium dominatione.¹⁸

Aside from the liturgical information, there was a famous legend attached to the feast—first recorded by Anselm of Bury in the early twelfth century but more popularly known today through Wace's mid-twelfth-century version—which provides some further context for its observance in England. The monk Ælfsige (or Helsin, by another spelling), abbot of St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, was on his way to Denmark sometime after the Norman Conquest, and was caught in a shipwreck. An angel came to his rescue, and in exchange for his life the angel ordered him to observe dutifully the feast of the Conception. When Ælfsige asked the angel how he should observe the feast, the angel replied that he should simply use the feast of the Nativity of Mary, but replace the word 'nativity' with 'conception' wherever it occurred.¹⁹

Ælfsige was in fact abbot of St Augustine's Canterbury at the supposed time of the legend, and he did presumably embark on a failed diplomatic trip to Denmark within three summers after the Conquest.²⁰ Unfortunately, though it provides a historical basis behind the legend—that is, Ælfsige's (supposed) decision to propagate the Conception feast in England after returning from a failed trip to Denmark—cannot be used as evidence for when the feast might have been introduced into England, for two reasons: this is firstly because the years 1067-69 are impossibly late in light of the actual sources that transmit the feast; and secondly, because the description of how to celebrate the

¹⁸ The edited text is taken from D. H. Turner, ed., *The Missal of the New Minster* (1962), 190.

¹⁹ The legend of Ælfsige as recorded by Anselm of Bury is edited in E. F. Dexter, ed., *Miracula Sanctae Virginis Mariae* (1927), 37-38. Wace's more famous version, which differs only slightly in description, is edited in Jean Blacker, Glyn S. Burgess and Amy V. Ogden, *Wace, the hagiographical works* (2013), 64.

²⁰ Stephen J. P. Van Dijk, 'The origin of the Latin feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary' (1954), 256-61. Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), 49-50 uses the known elements of Ælfsige's biography to deduce that the trip must have occurred in one of the summers between 1067 and 1069.

feast—that is, as a copy of the Nativity—is not in keeping with what survives from the sources, which suggest a new feast where at least the spoken items were created anew. Moreover, the earliest known recordings of the legend date from the 1120s, after the feast went through what is generally taken to be a revival of sorts in Normandy. The description of the feast being taken directly from the Nativity, then, can be read within the context of the early twelfth century, in particular as part of Anselm of Bury's defense for its continued celebration, or perhaps even as ammunition for a doctrinal argument over whether the feast should properly be celebrated as a full feast in its own right or as a subordinate extension of the Nativity.

One particular interpretation of these sources has prevailed since Edmund Bishop first wrote about them in 1886.²¹ According to this interpretation, the feast of the Conception was introduced into the west as a uniquely English feast in the first half of the eleventh century. After the Norman Conquest, William the Conqueror made Lanfranc the Archbishop of Canterbury, and during Lanfranc's programme of pro-Norman reforms the feast was targeted as being too English; the result was that it was fully extirpated from the English liturgy. This is taken from the fact that the feast is not mentioned in Lanfranc's reform Constitutions when he lists the Marian feasts to be observed by all institutions.²² Later, in the next century, the feast found a sympathetic ear amongst the first generation of what could properly be called a fully Anglo-Norman clergy, with the likes of Anselm of Bury and Osbert of Clare. Regardless of the previous circumstances, when it was revived in the twelfth century it was as a new feast, with different chants and texts: rather than taking the controversial route of the Anglo-Saxons, who it seems composed their own liturgy, the group of Anglo-Norman clerics who masterminded the revival of the feast attempted, successfully, to legitimize it as an extension of the Nativity feast, as seen in Anselm's legend of *Ælfsige*. The knowledge and/or practice of the original version of the feast, by extension, was restricted to pre-Conquest England.

²¹ His original study, with appended notes, is reprinted in Edmund Bishop, 'On the origins of the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary' (1918), 239-59. Most of the next paragraph is drawn from this essay.

²² David Knowles, ed., *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa* (1951). Edmund Bishop, 'On the origins of the feast of the Conception' (1918), 246.

Surprisingly little of this narrative has changed in the years since. First Stephen Van Dijk's 1954 article corrected a number of details assumed in Bishop's time, but nevertheless followed his thesis of extirpation closely.²³ At least two other scholars, Cornelius Bouman and Francis Davis, provided alternative views, but neither work has gained a foothold; Mary Clayton's work relies almost exclusively on Van Dijk between the three, referring only to Davis in passing and not mentioning Bouman or his theories at all.²⁴ The primary points of evidence for this narrative are: first, that the only surviving eleventh-century sources are English, most of which seem to date from before the last quarter of the century; second, that Lanfranc's decretals do not mention the feast, nor is it seen in a post-Conquest calendar for the New Minster (LBL, Arundel 60); and third, that the earliest surviving sources from after the Conquest which mention the feast are dated to the 1120s-30s, on both sides of the English Channel.

This model, however, is not without its problems, and must be untangled if we are to better understand the likely routes of transmission of the feast into Sweden. Recently Marie-Bénédicte Dary has taken it upon herself to classify each of the early versions of the Conception feast, of which she found not two (pre- and post-Conquest), but four.²⁵ The first of these, Type A, is the half-surviving Anglo-Saxon feast which is supposed to have been lost after the Conquest. Dary has found the prayers for this feast in at least three twelfth-century French manuscripts, one from the thirteenth century, and one from Cologne, showing quite clearly that that the feast was either not fully extirpated, or that it was already present on the continent before the Conquest reforms.²⁶

²³ Stephen J. P. van Dijk, 'The origin of the Latin feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary' (1954), 251-76 and 428-42.

²⁴ H. Francis Davis, 'The origins of devotion to Our Lady's Immaculate Conception' (1954), 375-92; Cornelius A. Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception in the liturgy' (1958), 113-59; and Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), *passim*.

²⁵ Marie-Bénédicte Dary, 'Aux origines de la "Fête aux Normands"' (2009), 69-80, esp. 70 and 73-76.

²⁶ Two books from Mont-Saint-Michel (Rouen, Ms. 116 suppl. and Avranches, Ms. 42), the latter from the beginning of the thirteenth century, a book for the church of Montauve (Rouen, Ms. 305), a missal of Cologne (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12055), a book from Saint-Corneille in Compiègne (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 17307), and a missal from Saint-Amand (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1101, which only contains one of the prayers). Incidentally, neither of these two views—that the feast was not extirpated, and/or that it was transmitted to France before twelfth century—have been posited by

Type B is the newer Anglo-Norman version, adapted from the Nativity, and which she suggests is the only version to survive through the thirteenth century because it had no need to develop a 'defensive position'; these sources proliferate in England and France.²⁷ Type C is seen only in Northern French sources, and likely originated in Fécamp.²⁸ Type D likely originated in Douai, in the later twelfth century, and its content picked freely from the Assumption, Annunciation and Nativity feasts as they are found in the *Sacramentarium Hadrianum* and its related sources.²⁹ Table 19 illustrates the core chants and texts for each type.

The most prominent difficulty in attempting to typify unified mass types for the Conception feast is that the chant selections and prayers often seem to have travelled separately. Dary only provides one typological blueprint for her 'Type B' mass, for example, but in Table 19 I have expanded it into three subtypes (Types B-1, B-2 and B-3), to illustrate the common prayer selections that can be found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources which use the 'Type B' chant selection (i.e., which pull their chants from the Nativity feast). Dary herself also mentions that Autun, Ms. 193, while classified by her as a Type C source, has Type B-1 prayers.³⁰ Dary's types, therefore, are based more heavily on the chant selections than on the prayer selections. This causes the most problems in classifying the Type A sources, for which the chant selection is unknown: sources with Type A prayers but which otherwise have Type B, C or D chants, therefore, would be classified as Type A masses, while all of those without Type A prayers are classified according to their chants instead.

anyone since Bouman suggested both in Cornelius A. Bouman, 'The Immaculate Conception in the liturgy' (1958). For whatever reason, Bouman's article has not been cited in detailed studies on the Anglo-Saxon Conception feast, including Dary's, nor does Dary make either of these suggestions herself.

²⁷ Marie-Bénédicte Dary, 'Aux origines de la "Fête aux Normands"' (2009), 78.

²⁸ Dary includes Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 290, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 273, Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 193 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 18168 as examples.

²⁹ Examples Dary provides include Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 90, a missal from Anchin, and Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 83, a missal from Marchiennes.

³⁰ Marie-Bénédicte Dary, 'Aux origines de la "Fête aux Normands"' (2009), 74-75.

Dary labels all of these sources simply as 'Type B', but to demonstrate my own arguments I have further delineated three subsets of B (B-1, B-2 and B-3) to show common pairings of the Type B chants with different sets of prayers.

Table 19. Comparison of different version of the feast of the Conception of Mary in twelfth-century Anglo-French sources

This table has been adapted and expanded from Marie-Bénédicte Dary, ‘Aux origines de la “Fête aux Normands”, la liturgie de la fête de la Conception de la Vierge Marie en France (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)’, in *Marie et la ‘fête aux Normands’* (2009).

Chants	Type A	Type B (Nativity feast)	Type C	Type D
Introit	?	Gaudeamus Ps. Eructavit cor meum	Gaudeamus	Vultum tuum
Gradual	?	Benedicta et venerabilis	Propter veritatem	Diffusa est
Alleluia	?	Nativitas gloriosae virginis	—	—
Offertory	?	Beata es virgo Maria	Felix namque	Diffusa est <i>or</i> Ave Maria
Communion	?	Regina mundi	Beata viscera	In salutare tuo

	(Nativity)				(Annunciation)	
Prayers	Type A	Type B-1	Type B-2	Type B-3	Type C	Type D
Oratio	Deus qui beatae Mariae	Supplicationem servorum	Supplicationem servorum	Deus ineffabilis	?	Deus qui de beatae Mariae
Secret	Sanctifica domine	Unigeniti tui	Famulis tuis	Salutarem omnipotens	?	In mentibus
Postcommunion	Repleti vitalibus	Sumpsimus domine	Sumpsimus domine	Caelestis alimoniae	?	Gratiam tuam

Manuscript examples for...

Type A: *Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 330* **Type B-1:** *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. 18168 (Saint-Martin-des-Champs codex)*

Type B-2: *Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 293 (Fécamp missal)* **Type B-3:** *London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2891 (Paris missal)*

Type C: *Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 193 (Saint-Philibert-de-Tournus missal)* **Type D:** *Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 90*

3.1.1 The Conception mass in Sweden: An overview

There are a total of twenty-five fragments in the MPO which have at least some portion of the mass for the feast of the Conception of Mary. As with the office sources, most of these date from the fifteenth century (seventeen or eighteen in all).³¹ Five or six more date from the fourteenth century, and one missal fragment dates from the end of the twelfth century. The book genres are weighted heavily toward missals: there are sixteen missal fragments (of which ten or eleven are fifteenth century), eight gradual fragments (seven dating from the fifteenth century), and a single fifteenth-century evangeliary.

Tables 20 and 21 express the full range of fragmentary sources in the MPO and FM for the Conception mass, both by date and genre. There are in fact other sources for the mass that can be found in the fragments—namely, two incunabula of the sixteenth century, one of the *Graduale Arosiense* (Västerås), and of the *Missale Strengnense* (Strängnäs)—but neither they nor any of the other printed missals for Swedish dioceses have been included in this study.³² The printed books for each of the dioceses were published outside of Scandinavia, and in regards to the Conception they either provide a simple rubric or supply a popular version of the feast not found in any of the earlier manuscript fragments in Sweden.

There are three fragments in the MPO and FM which provide evidence for the feast in the form of liturgical calendars. The first, Fr 2547, dating from the thirteenth century, has been attributed to the use of Uppsala by Isak Collijn, and to the use of Vallentuna by Toni Schmid.³³ In addition to the feast of the Conception, it includes the English St Edmund (20 November) and the continental saints Victoria (10 December, separate from her companions Anatolia and Audax), and Eulalia of Barcelona (12 February). The second fragment, Kal 36, is the remains of a calendar for a secular

³¹ MPO, Fr 7470 has a borderline attribution of being from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and I have been unable to delimit it any further.

³² MPO, Inc 1 is a copy of the *Graduale Arosiense*, and the feast of the Conception can be found on Fr 28549. MPO, Inc 3 is a copy of the *Missale Strengnense*, with the Conception feast found on Fr 28592. In both cases the feast is a simple rubric labelling the feast and requiring a substitution from the Nativity.

³³ Isak Collijn, *Redogörelse för på uppdrag af Kungl. Maj:t* (1914), no. 4; Toni Schmid, *Liber ecclesiae Vallentunensis* (1945), 128-30 and no. 7. The fragment itself was bound in 1574 to the accounts for the rural province of Gästrikland, some 100 km north of Uppsala and within the geographical limits of that diocese.

Table 20. Manuscript fragments in the MPO and FM which contain mass material for the feast of the Conception of Mary

Fragment	Type	Century
Fr 2547	Calendar	XII
Kal 36 (Fr 25628)	Calendar	XIII 1/2?
Kal 48 (Fr 25638)	Calendar	XIII 2/2?
Fr 701*	Gradual	XIV
Fr 903	Gradual	XV
Fr 1114	Gradual	XV
Fr 10302	Gradual	XV
Fr 11712	Gradual	XV
Gr 2 (Fr 25070)	Gradual	XV
Gr 76 (Fr 25249)	Gradual	XV
Gr 201 (Fr 25488)*	Gradual	XV
Fr 735	Missal	XV
Fr 3828	Missal	XV
Fr 4044	Missal	XV 2/2
Fr 4800	Missal	XIV
Fr 7470	Missal	XIV/XV
Fr 8611	Missal	XV
Fr 8623	Missal	XV
Fr 8743	Missal	XV
Fr 8873	Missal	XV
Mi 58 (Fr 26221)	Missal	XV
Mi 116 (Fr 4572)	Missal	XV
Mi 247 (Fr 26689)*	Missal	XIV
Mi 352 (Fr 26954)	Missal	XIII 1/2
Mi 818 (Fr 10114)	Missal	XIV
Sequ 139 (Fr 7115)	Missal	XV
Evg P A 1 (Fr 25047)	Evangelary	XIV

*not included in this study.

Table 21. Number of fragments in the MPO and FM with the Conception mass, by date and genre

Dates	Missal	Gradual	Evangelary	Calendar	Totals
s. XII/XIII	—	—	—	1	1
s. XIII	1	—	—	2	3
s. XIV	4	1	—	—	5
s. XIV/XV	1	—	—	—	1
s. XV	10	7	1	—	18
Totals	16	8	1	3	28

antiphoner or breviary, dating from the either the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (Plates 37-40). The only surviving entries are for the months of May, June, November and December. Aside from the feast of the Conception, which is listed as a special feast in red with nine lessons, Kal 36 has a similar dependence on imported liturgical culture, both in its production and in its content. It was written by a scribe with a neat hand, who wrote in an English style common to the twelfth century, where the overall roundness of script and the shortness of the hook in the letter ‘a’ distinguish it from contemporary Norman styles.³⁴ The feasts of this calendar fragment have a strongly English character to them: some of the feasts present are those for Dunstan (19 May), Aldhelm of Sherborne (25 May), Augustine ‘*Anglorum apostoli*’ (26 May), Bede (31 May), Medard and Gildard (8 June), Botwulf (17 June), Alban (22 June), St Etheldreda (23 June) and Machudd of Llanfechell (15 November). Also listed is the translation of King Edward to Shaftesbury Abbey in 1001 (20 June) as a regular feast with three lessons and the *Te Deum*; the translation is corroborated in the thirteenth-century English Martyrology of Usuardus, LBL Royal Ms. 2 A. xiii.³⁵

Evidence for a single Swedish feast is recorded in the surviving portion of the calendar—the feast of St. Eric (18 May)—but this entry is was made after initial production, by a different scribe. This second scribe’s hand was influenced by early thirteenth-century English script, but shows overall less control and evenness than the original scribe (Plate 37). The ‘a’ and rounded ‘g’ of the second hand reflect Neil Ker’s observations about English scripts toward the latter end of the twelfth century, although it also shows some features which would have been conservative by this date, including a straight ‘t’ that is heavily crossed through the middle, and a long ‘r’ that descends well below the line.³⁶ Michael Gullick has suggested that book production in Scandinavia had already been established by the turn of the thirteenth century, and several of his proposed Swedish sources from this period betray the same uneven writing and overall conservative English features.³⁷ There is no reason to assume that a manuscript with these features is more likely to be Swedish than English, as it is entirely possible for an English manuscript to have been made by a sloppy scribe, or perhaps by an aging monk

³⁴ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 34-39, esp. at 35-36.

³⁵ MPO, Fr 25628, fols. 1r-2r.

³⁶ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 35.

³⁷ Michael Gullick, ‘Alvastra monastery and its Romanesque books’ (2013).

whose style had by then become antiquated; however, it does allow some rather tantalizing, speculative possibilities for describing an early Swedish scribal style: for one, a tendency toward retaining twelfth-century English letter forms into the thirteenth century; and a certain looseness of hand in comparison to contemporary English manuscripts, perhaps due to less strict oversight within the scriptorium, or perhaps reflecting the brusque manner of writing by scribes whose training was in monastic bookhand, but whose experience lay more commonly with diplomatic documents. Gullick has touched on this speculation in an essay comparing the palaeographical features of twelfth-century manuscripts which he claims are almost certainly Swedish, by citing several studies on Swedish diplomatic palaeography which demonstrate that the royal charters being produced locally since the early twelfth century had to have been made by clergyman, since the earliest evidence of a royal chancery in Sweden is from the middle of the thirteenth century; support for this claim can be seen in how the charters are all written in a formal monastic bookhand, rather than in a script more customary for diplomatic documents.³⁸ The palaeographical features of the fragment are very close to those in Gullick's 'almost certainly Swedish' group, but unfortunately this alone is not enough to argue that Kal 36 must have been a local product. It could very well have been originally English, and taken to Sweden shortly after its production and amended with local saints.

The third calendar fragment, Fr 25638 (Kal 48), has hitherto been identified as the only known fragment from its parent source, but a codicological comparison shows that it in fact belongs to the manuscript Br 303, a collection of four breviary fragments from a single manuscript (Frs 22282-85).³⁹ One of the fragments in Br 303, Fr 22285, is another part of the calendar, which matches exactly the parchment, rulings and prickings of Fr 25638. The hand is the same in both fragments, and the illuminations and pigments concord. The calendar fragment already attributed to Br 303 includes the

³⁸ Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary observations on Romanesque manuscript fragments of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)' (2005), 64-65. His sources are Herman Schück, 'Kansler och capella regis under folkungatiden' (1963), Jan Öberg, *Königliche Kanzlei und Diplomatie in Schweden bis um 1250* (1974), and Inger Larsson, *Svenska medeltidsbrev* (2003). Adding veracity to Gullick's theory is his observation that the group of Cistercian manuscripts he has examined match palaeographically with the diplomatic sources.

³⁹ Plate 16 contains an example of the incomplete calendar of Br 303 next to one of the folios of Kal 48.

months of March, April, September and October, and has the English feasts of Cuthbert (20 March), the Conception of John the Baptist (24 March), the Ordination of Gregory I (30 March); the Frankish feasts of Albinus (1 March) and Leodegar (2 October); and the Germanic feasts of Adalbert (23 April) and Lambert (17 September). The selection of English feasts is particularly striking, as Richard Pfaff has noted that neither the feast of the Conception of John the Baptist, nor the tendency to place the Ordination of Gregory on 29 or 30 March, are likely to be found in a manuscript dating after the Norman Conquest.⁴⁰ The month of March also contains, written uniquely in green, the Easter feast on 27 March. Assuming that this dating is intentional, it could have referred to the year 1155, 1160, 1239 or 1250, at the most extreme ranges of the manuscript's possible dating.

With the inclusion of Fr 25638, which contains the months January, February, November and December, the list of local feasts can be expanded to include Romanus of Condat (28 February, written as '*In territorio Lucdunensi Beati Romani confessor*'), Willehad (8 November, as '*Vilyadi*'), Edmund (20 November), and Eugenia of Rome (on the commonly Orthodox date of 24 December, as '*Rome Eugenie virginis*'). The feast for Nicholas (6 December) is present and given unique status, as the only feast with two coloured initials, and one of the only two feasts labelled with a cross outside of Christmastide.⁴¹ Toni Schmid identified Br 303 with the diocese of Skara, an assertion reinforced by Karin Strinnholm-Lagergren.⁴² Fr 25638 can therefore be safely attributed to Sweden, and adds to other early calendar fragments already attributed to Skara diocese.

The inclusion of Fr 25638 as part of Br 303 forces a reassessment of the role of the feast of the Conception in Sweden. Sven Helander has published several important studies attempting to reconstruct the liturgical calendars of several medieval Swedish dioceses, by surveying a selection of fragments in the MPO, late medieval printed

⁴⁰ Richard Pfaff, *The liturgy in medieval England* (2009), 105. For the possible dates of the Ordination of Gregory he cites Paul A. Hayward, 'Gregory the Great as "Apostle of the English" in Post-Conquest Canterbury' (2004), 28-32.

⁴¹ The Nativity of St Thomas (21 December) has a cross as well. The entry for St Nicholas is in red, and both '*Sancti*' and '*Nicholai*' have green capital initials; the full entry reads '*Sancti Nicholai episcopi exquo tumba martyris unigeniti*'.

⁴² Karin Strinnholm-Lagergren, 'Medeltida kyrkomusik i Skara stift' (2012), 426-34.

liturgical books, and a large list of Swedish diplomatic sources.⁴³ In the case of the feast of the Conception of Mary, the earliest liturgical example found by Helander was in Mi 247, a missal fragment datable to the first half of the thirteenth century, while the earliest direct mention found comes from a later source: an Uppsala charter, dated to 1311, instituting the feast as a day of indulgences.⁴⁴ Mi 247 has many distinct and clear English palaeographical features, but also has St Magnus added to one of the surviving folios, suggesting that it was most likely used in Scandinavia, whether or not it was produced actually there produced there.⁴⁵ Helander argued that the missal was probably used in the western part of the diocese of Uppsala, and through this hypothesized that the feast of the Conception was introduced to Sweden through the diocesan liturgy of Uppsala, logically between the mid-thirteenth century and 1311. However, almost all of the twenty fragments currently assigned to Mi 247 survive in the provincial accounts for Västmanland, which presumably would have fallen under the diocese of Västerås; the few that do not come from scattered accounts all over the Swedish kingdom, and so were likely wrapped centrally at Stockholm.⁴⁶ In addition to this, the Skara breviary Br 303 has been thought to date from perhaps the first quarter of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, and having the feast of the Conception present in its calendar pushes the dates cited by Helander back significantly, and away from Uppsala to Skara. It is interesting that even though one of the other calendar fragments mentioned here, Kal 36, probably was originally produced in England rather than Sweden, it does survive within the 1583 accounts for Västergötland, within the liturgical and administrative diocese of Skara.

⁴³ His studies can be found in Sven Helander, *Ordinarius lincopensis c:a 1400 och dess liturgiska förebilder* (1957); *Ansgarskulten i Norden* (1989); *Mässa i medeltida socken* (1993); *Den medeltida uppsalaliturgin* (2001); and 'The liturgical profile of the parish church in medieval Sweden' (2001).

⁴⁴ Sven Helander, *Den medeltida uppsalaliturgin* (2001), 254-55. The charter in question is Stockholm, Riksarkivet, DS 1792.

⁴⁵ MPO, Fr 10123.

⁴⁶ MPO, Fr 4019, Fr 4023, Fr 4025, Fr 4026, Fr 8364, Fr 9091, Fr 9247, Fr 9611, Fr 10123 and Frs 26686 through 26695.

3.1.2 Musical contents of the Conception mass

The majority of fragments containing the mass for the Conception feast refer at least in part to the feast of Mary's Nativity (8 September) for its items and performance, following the logical association that dates back to the *Ælfsige* legend. However, there are exceptions to this, which result in some ambiguities how the feast would have been celebrated. Out of all the manuscript fragments only two, the gradual Fr 903 and the missal Mi 171, strictly refer the celebrant to the Nativity of Mary in a rubric. Fr 903 gives a detailed explanation, requiring the words '*natiuitate*' and '*nata*' to be replaced with '*conceptio*' and '*concepta*', while Mi 171 simply refers to the Nativity service; neither have any items of their own.⁴⁷ These rubrics are entirely in keeping with the tradition set forth in the *Ælfsige* legend, and so for the purposes of this study their mass 'types' will be referred to as type 'N' (in reference to the Nativity). This is to avoid confusion with Dary's 'Type B' mass. While the two might seem to be identical, they are in fact quite different in their execution. In a manuscript which only provides a referential rubric to the Nativity, there is no room for any interpretation except to find a mass for the Nativity and perform it as it is found there; in most cases this would probably have been within the same book. However, even though the Type B mass was taken directly from the Nativity at the time of its origination, it requires its items to be written out within the context of the Conception feast itself, therefore causing it to be independent of the Nativity; either feast may subsequently be altered over subsequent generations without affecting the performance of the other. Dary's work has already demonstrated this with the mutability of the prayers within her Type B mass.

Eight more manuscripts provide at least some proper chants or prayers, but refer to the Nativity for the rest.⁴⁸ A further two are missing the folios which would have contained the feast's rubric, making it impossible to determine whether the Nativity is

⁴⁷ The missal Mi 171 dates from the fourteenth century with no known origin or area of use, but the four of its six fragments were used for provincial accounts within the diocese of Västerås between 1569 and 1577, and so with reasonable caution can be speculated to have been stored in the city of Västerås during that time. See Fr 4113, Fr 4572, Fr 10210 and Fr 26539. The gradual, Fr 903, is a fifteenth-century source with no known origin (medieval or otherwise; the archival accounts are from the Stockholm local customs accounts of 1606, and so could have been from anywhere).

⁴⁸ The eight sources are three graduals, Fr 10302, Fr 11712 and Gr 76 (Fr 25249), and five missals, Fr 7470, Fr 8611, Fr 8873, Mi 58 (Fr 26221) and Mi 116 (Fr 26440).

mentioned.⁴⁹ The remaining nine manuscripts make no mention of the Nativity at all; in these cases, it could be that the scribe or exemplar of the manuscript assumed that any proper items not listed for the Conception feast would be pulled from the Nativity, or it could be that they were intended to be pulled from any Marian feast, or from the Saturday votive mass for Mary.⁵⁰ Four fragments, Fr 701, Fr 735, Gr 201 (Fr 25488) and Mi 247 (Fr 26689), are not included due to an inability to view the fragments during research.⁵¹

Where they occur in the fragments, the chant and prayer selections for the Conception feast mass do show some continuity, and in some cases may be compared to one of Dary's major early versions. The graduals, for example, show four variations in their selection of chants and three variations in their rubrics. The rubrics either do not refer to the Nativity (as in Fr 1114 and Gr 2), refer to the Nativity exclusively (as in Fr 903), or otherwise refer to the Nativity while still providing chant incipits within the context of the Conception feast itself (as in Fr 10302, Fr 11712 and Gr 76). The rubrics of this last group of fragments are technically nonsensical: they refer the cantor to the feast of the Nativity for any chants not provided within the context of the current feast (*'cum ceteris ut in natiuitate eiusdem'*), but then the sources go on to provide incipits for all of the proper chants required in the mass anyway, none of which are the 'Type B' mass which was inherited from the Nativity. Instead, they all point to Dary's 'Type C' mass, the French version whose origins point to early twelfth-century Fécamp.

This last group of graduals certainly appear to be transmitting a single version of the feast.⁵² All three provide the same redundant rubric, and the same selection of chants based on the Norman Type C mass. On top of this, each is datable to the fifteenth

⁴⁹ Sequ 139 (Fr 7115) and Fr 8743, both missals.

⁵⁰ Two graduals are in this group, Fr 1114 and Gr 2 (Fr 25070), as well as the single evangelary Evg P A 1 (Fr 25047), and the other six are missals: Fr 3828, Fr 4044, Fr 4800, Fr 8623, Mi 352 (Fr 26954) and Mi 818 (Fr 10114).

⁵¹ All four were unavailable due to restoration work at the archives. Three of them have digitized images available on the MPO, but none are usable in this context. The relevant folios in Fr 701 and Fr 735 are both folded in on themselves, hiding all of their content for the Conception mass beyond the two final chant incipits in Fr 701 (the offertory *Aue Maria* and the communion *Diffusa est gratia*). The images for Gr 201 (Fr 25488) are unfortunately misidentified on the MPO; the images are actually of Fr 2589, a fifteenth-century antiphoner fragment.

⁵² See Table 22.

Table 22. The 'Type C' mass for the feast of the Conception in Swedish graduals

Gr 76				
Mass item	(Fr 25249, fol. 2r)	Fr 10302, fol. 1r	Fr 11712, fol. 1r	Type 'C' mass
<i>rubric</i>	In die conceptionis beate Marie virginis officium.	<i>In concepcione</i> beate marie virginis [...]	In concepcione marie virginis officium.	—
Introit	Gaudeamus	<i>Gaudeamus</i> Ps. Concepcio tua dei <i>genetrix</i>	Gaudeamus	Gaudeamus
<i>rubric</i>	cum ceteris vt natiuitate eiusdem.	—	cum ceteris ut in natiuitate eiusdem	—
Gradual	Propter veritatem	[Propter veritatem]	[unreadable on folio]	Propter veritatem
Alleluia	Concepcio	Concepcio gloriose virgine	Concepcio gloriose	—
<i>rubric</i>	—	[...] require in natiuitate eius.	—	—
Offertory	Felix namque	Felix namque	Felix namque	Felix namque
Communion	Beata viscera	Beata viscera	Beata viscera	Beata viscera

century, and two (Gr 76 and Fr 10302) were almost certainly copied for Swedish use; Gr 76 also has specific links to the use of Uppsala.⁵³

In a preliminary analysis it seems confusing why these graduals would refer the cantor to another feast, when the incipits for all of the chant propers are already provided. The indication '*cum ceteris*' after the introit in Gr 76 and Fr 11712 could be referring to the non-musical items for the feast, but this is unlikely; presumably, those references would be indicated in the appropriate companion book to the gradual, such as a missal or lectionary. Neither Gr 76 or Fr 11712 provides an incipit for the introit psalm verse, and so this at least would necessitate the rubric in those two cases. It is also

⁵³ The fragment folio of Gr 76 containing the feast of the Conception of Mary is Fr 25249, fol. 2r. In the CCM, Gr 76 was attributed to the use of Uppsala, with no reasoning given, but most likely because the presence of the Translation of King Eric into Uppsala cathedral ties it quite closely to that diocese (Fr 25249, fol. 1v). In the MPO, Fr 10302 has been localized to Swedish use based on the 9 December feast of St Anne. See MPO, Frs 10302 and 25249.

possible that the Nativity, being the more important feast, might have had these chants written out in full and with notation, and the rubrics here indicate where the full chants can be found. However, this was not a common practice, as can be seen in the same fragments where the masses for St Thomas, St Nicholas, St Anne, and the Translation of King Eric all provide incipits—some so terse as to border on confusing—without any mention of where the full chants can be found elsewhere in the gradual.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the dependence on referring to the Nativity suggests the weight of the tradition found in the *Ælfsige* legend, and perhaps the more likely explanation is that the scribes copied the rubrics dutifully in deference to that tradition, while still maintaining their own version of the mass.

Two gradual fragments, Gr 2 and Fr 1114, transmit two separate versions in their chant selections.⁵⁵ Both date from the fifteenth century. Fr 1114 has been attributed to Germany based on its Gothic notation and the presence of some German saints in another fragment from the same manuscript, Fr 2175; neither of these dictates a German origin, as both features can be found in Swedish manuscripts.⁵⁶ Gr 2 has been attributed to the use of Västerås in the MPO due to the presence of St Henricus and St Nicholas, on slightly more stable grounds.⁵⁷

At a glance both Gr 2 and Fr 1114 appear to be transmitting versions that pull both from Type C and Type D. The introit and gradual for Gr 2 come from the Type C mass, and agrees with the Gr 76 – Fr 10302 – Fr 11712 group, but the offertory and communion chants are different. Gr 2 has *Ave Maria* and *Diffusa est gratia*, both used

⁵⁴ For example, in Fr 25249 fol. 2r the introit for St Nicholas is given as ‘*Statuit*’, which could be confused with any number of the chants beginning with ‘*statuit*’ if the cantor were not already familiar with which one to use.

⁵⁵ See Table 23.

⁵⁶ See MPO, Fr 2175. Both fragments are part of Codex 285.

⁵⁷ See MPO, Fr 25070, Gustaf Lindberg, *Die Schwedischen Missalien des Mittelalters* (1924), 240 and 309-11, and Jan Brunius, *From manuscripts to wrappers* (2013), 90-91. The masses follow those in the printed *Graduale Arosiense* and *Breviarium Arosiense*, and these are also unique among the Swedish printed liturgical books for giving Nicholas a *totum duplex* feast. The fragment is attached the 1601 accounts of Nyköping, part of the diocese of Strängnäs, but there is no guarantee that this was its post-medieval provenance. The bailiff who prepared the account, Per Andersson, is connected to five other documents in the accounts, spanning the years 1551-1601, each from different provinces and being wrapped by leaves from different manuscripts. This makes it difficult to determine what Andersson's working method in handling the medieval manuscripts was.

Table 23. The mass for the feast of the Conception in two Swedish graduals, with no typological model

	Gr 2			
Mass item	(Fr 25070, f. 1r)	Fr 1114, f. 1v	Type C	Type D
<i>rubric</i>	In die conceptionis marie	<i>Conceptio marie</i>	—	—
Introit	Gaudeamus	Gaudeamus (clvij.)	Gaudeamus	Vultum tuum
Gradual	Propter	Audi filia (xj.)	Propter veritatem	Diffusa est
Alleluia	[unreadable on folio]	<i>Concepcio</i> (cxxx.)	—	—
Sequence	—	<i>Aue maria</i> (x.)	—	—
Offertory	<i>Aue marie</i>	<i>Aue maria</i>	Felix namque	Diffusa est, or <i>Ave Maria</i>
Communion	Diffusa	Diffusa (clxj.)	Beata viscera	In salutare tuo

exclusively in the Type D mass of Dary's study, but Gr 2 has them in both the offertory and communion positions, which Dary does not recognize as part of her version. Fr 1114 is similar, except that the gradual *Audi filia* is unique among the Swedish fragments for the mass. A second, less immediately striking observation is that neither source provides a rubric referring to the Nativity. In this case, if there were any further chants needed for the celebration of the mass, such as the psalm verse or if a procession were conducted, the cantor could borrow those chants either from the Nativity in the traditional manner, or perhaps from another Marian feast, as no definitive rule is set. There is only one other gradual fragment consulted in this study, Fr 903, and it contains nothing beyond a rubric pointing to the Nativity, and so is being labelled here as Type 'N'.

The missal fragments in the MPO have a much wider range of dates, although the majority still come from the fifteenth century. Several more combinations of mass chants are transmitted in these fragments, including each of the versions already found in the graduals.⁵⁸ The relatively stable type 'C' group, represented by Gr 76, Fr 10302 and Fr 11712 in the graduals, is seen again in both Mi 818 and Fr 4044. Sven Helander

⁵⁸ See Table 24.

Table 24. The mass for the feast of the Conception in Swedish missal fragments

Mass item	Mi 818		Mi 352	
	Fr 4044, f. 1r	(Fr 10114, f. 1v)	Fr 8623, f. 2r	(Fr 26954, f. 2r)
rubric	De conceptione marie <i>virginis officium</i>	Concepcionis marie	De conceptione marie.	Concepcionis marie.
Introit	Gaudeamus Ps. Conceptio	Gaudeamus	Gaudeamus Ps. Conceptio tua	Gaudeamus Ps. Conceptio tua dei genitrix virgo
rubric	In aduentua iii ^o	—	—	—
Gradual	Propter ueritatem	Propter ueritatem	Propter ueritatem	Propter ueritatem
Alleluia	[folio damaged]	Concepcio gloriose	Concepcio gloriose	Concepcionis gloriose
rubric	[folio damaged]	—	—	—
Offertory	Felix namque	Felix namque	Aue maria	Aue maria
Communion	Beata viscera	Beata viscera	Diffusa est	Diffusa
				Beata uiscera
				Benedicta et uenerabilis
				Gaudeamus omnes

has previously studied some fragments from Mi 818 and concluded that they follow the use of Uppsala; as Gr 76 has already been shown to have some connection to Uppsala, this brings further weight to the possibility of a specific Uppsala version inherited from the Norman mass.⁵⁹ The provenance Fr 8623 is currently unknown. Fr 4044 has not been linked to any specific use, but it is almost certainly from a Swedish manuscript, as St Anne and St Birgitta are present and thoroughly treated with material.⁶⁰ The fragment organizes its feasts topically rather than chronologically: the feasts present are Corpus Christi, the Conception of Mary, the Visitation of Mary, St Anne and St Birgitta, a series of feasts pulled from across the calendar year. Considering how the feasts of Corpus Christi, the Visitation of Mary and St Birgitta were relatively late additions to the medieval liturgy, it is likely that these were attached to the end of the *temporale* or *sanctorale* as additional feasts. The rubrication for each feast is also unusually extensive for the Swedish fragments, as can be seen in the Conception feast. What survives of the rubrics for the Conception feast makes it almost certain that more than one chant was dictated for some of the positions, but much of the fragment is damaged and most of the rubrics and texts for the feast are lost.

The chant selection for both Mi 352 and Fr 8623 agree with Gr 2, leaving out any reference to the Nativity and combining the first half of the Fécamp version with a rearrangement of the second half of the Douai version. Neither missal can be linked to a specific use, although Mi 352, one of the few sources which dates from the fourteenth century, can at least be placed within Sweden generally — St Henricus, St Anne and St Lucia all feature prominently, making its Swedish provenance clear. In effect, their agreement with Gr 2 can only be seen as an agreement between sources and not liturgical practices, as associating either of them with Västerås solely on account of the similarity between their Conception masses and the one found in Gr 2 would be purely speculative.⁶¹ Fr 3828, a fragment with no provincial attributions but attached to the 1612 accounts of Uppland within the diocese of Uppsala, has just enough of its mass

⁵⁹ This could even open the possibility of searching for further Norman links in the use of Uppsala during this time.

⁶⁰ Fr 4044 survived in the 1569 accounts for Västmanland.

⁶¹ The individual fragments from Mi 352 come from the Östergötland accounts of 1590–93, making a connection to Västerås even more speculative. Likewise, Fr 8623, the only known fragment from its parent source, was preserved in the Småland accounts of 1607.

Table 25. Chants for the Conception mass in Sequ 139 and Fr 8611

Mass item	Sequ 139 (Fr 7115, f. 1r)	Fr 8611, f. 2v
rubric	[folio missing]	In festo concepcio marie Officium
Introit	[folio missing]	Gaudeamus
rubric	[folio missing]	Omnia [...]r natiuitate eiusdem
Gradual	[folio missing]	—
Alleluia	[folio missing]	—
Offertory	Filie regum	—
Communion	Diffusa est gratia	

surviving to show that it could concord with either the hypothetical ‘Type C’ group (Mi 818 – Fr 4044 – Gr 76 – Fr 10302 – Fr 11712), or the ‘Type C+D’ group (Mi 352 – Fr 8623 – Gr 2).

Of the six missal fragments that do not mention the Nativity, Fr 4800 is alone in its version of the mass chants. The final two are inherited from the Douai version as Gr 2 and its group, but the first half is clearly taken from the widely popular ‘Type B’ mass that was inherited directly from the feast of the Nativity.⁶² The substitution of the final chants with those which were originally associated with the Douai version is not uncommon in late medieval manuscripts, especially when in conjunction with the traditional ‘Type B’ chants.⁶³ The fragment itself is from a fourteenth-century missal,

⁶² See Table 25.

⁶³ For example, the north Italian missal California State University, Long Beach, University Library BX 2015. A2 1450, fol. 176v (from 1450-55) has the chants Int.: *Gaudeamus omnes – Eructavit cor meum*, Gr.: *Benedicta et venerabilis – Virgo dei genitrix – Virgo Iesse*, Off.: *Felix es sacra*, and Com.: *Beata viscera*. The mass begins quite clearly in the ‘Type B’ tradition, but then freely uses chants from later versions as well as the Douai chant *Beata viscera*. Moreover, *Felix namque* and *Felix es sacra*, while being two different chants, were clearly associated well enough by virtue of their opening words, so that the later *Felix es sacra* retained the offertory position as *Felix namque* once did in the Norman version that probably originated in Fécamp.

and the prayers of its other feasts (but not necessarily the chants) match those of the 1487 *Missale Strengnense* (Strängnäs).⁶⁴

Six missal fragments do contain some mention of the Nativity in their rubrics: Fr 7470, Fr 8611, Fr 8873, Mi 58 (Fr 26221), Mi 116 (Fr 26440) and Mi 171 (Fr 4572). Of these five only one contains any chant incipits: Fr 8611 begins with the rubric, '*In festo concepcio marie Off[iciu]m,*' a text incipit for the introit '*Gaudeamus*', and then a further rubric, '*O[m]nia [...]*jr natiuitate eiusdem**'; the missing part of the rubric presumably would have directed the cantor to the Nativity for the other chants, since the rest of the items given for the mass are prayers only. This exact formula is seen in the other four fragments of this group, except without the incipit for the introit. Each one with slightly different wording refers to the Nativity for items '*cantabitur*', while providing non-musical items (i.e., prayers) specific to the Conception, '*cum istis collectis*'.⁶⁵ A further two fragments, Fr 8743 and Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), begin with portions of the mass *in medias res*, so that it is impossible to determine what was contained in their rubrics. The surviving portion of Sequ 139, originally described as a fifteenth-century sequentiary in the CCM but now identified as a fourteenth-century missal of Swedish use in the MPO, has only the mass from the gospel reading on, and the chants given there are *Filie regum* for the offertory and *Diffusa est gratia* for the communion.⁶⁶ Whatever chants it preserved for the introit and gradual, it is clear that its version is unique among the Swedish sources. Unfortunately, the mass in 8743 is

⁶⁴ The fragment contains the feasts of St Andrew (vigils, feast and octave), St Nicholas, the Conception of Mary, St Lucia, St Thomas the Apostle (vigils and feast day), St Thomas the Martyr, St Sylvester, St Felix and St Marcellus. The concordance of the prayers must be taken with some reservation, however, as the printed missals were prepared elsewhere in Europe, and at any rate it must first be shown that the prayers were unique to the use of Strängnäs before that can be used as positive evidence for provenance.

⁶⁵ Mi 58 and Mi 116 have identical rubrics: '*In concepcione sancte marie virginis totum officium sicut in natiuitate eiusdem cum istis collectis*'. Fr 7470 directly refers to the chants in its rubrics: '*In concepcione sancte marie Officium misse cantabitur ut in natiuitate eiusdem Requiritur*'. Fr 8873 follows the gradual Fr 903 with a more lengthy rubric that retains the explanation given in the *Ælfsige* legend: '*De concepcione beate marie officium misse vt in natiuitate ipsius excepto qui vbi prius natiuitas vel nata dicebatur: nunc autem concepcio vel concepta dicatur collectis.*' Compare this to Fr 903, fol. 1v: '*...omnia vt in natiuitate eius prouiso tum qui vbi prius natiuitas vel nata dicebatur. nunc autem concepcio vel concepta dicebatur*'.)

⁶⁶ See MPO, Fr 7055 and Fr 28298. The change came after Sequ 139 and Codex 969 were identified as the same manuscript in the database.

entirely missing except for most of the final prayer, making it impossible to tell whether it originally contained any chant incipits.

A complete survey of the chants used in each of the sources for the Conception mass yields some fruitful results in determining the range of variation the feast had in medieval Sweden: a number of the sources refer the cantor to the Nativity (Type 'N'); the second largest group represented are those who use the Norman 'Type C' group proposed by Dary; some sources evince some filiation from the Douai 'Type D' version of the mass, but at such a late date in the Middle Ages these are much more likely to have come from subsequent versions of the feast which mixed and altered the 'Type B' and 'Type C' masses, rather than being a direct influence from the twelfth-century Douai sources themselves. The 'true' Type D mass is, unsurprisingly, not present.

Earlier it was argued that the Type 'N' and Type 'B' mass must be distinguished as two separate traditions. The utility of this can be seen when comparing the Swedish sources and their filiations: while the Type N mass is represented in eight sources, the chants for the Type B mass is represented only partly in Fr 4800. This is in spite of the successful transmission of the Type B and its descendants during the later Middle Ages. Instead, the most common type of mass shown is Type C.⁶⁷ Considering the eventual success of the Type B mass by the end of thirteenth century, the Type C mass is most likely to have been transmitted into Sweden prior to that time, sometime between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries.

3.1.3 Textual Contents of the Conception Mass

As can be expected, the manuscript groups which are formed by comparing prayers for the Conception mass do not necessarily follow the same groups formed by comparing chants. Different genres of item for the mass were collected and transmitted according to a number of different organizational methods, such as a collectar or sacramentary for prayers, an evangeliary for certain readings, and a gradual for proper chants; or perhaps a combination of some degree in the form of a missal. Because of this segregation it cannot be assumed that a set of prayers and chants for a particular mass necessarily travelled together, although sometimes that it the case. The variations in prayers mentioned earlier in Dary's 'Type B' Conception mass illustrate the need for

⁶⁷ MPO, Fr 10302, Fr 11712, Gr 76, Fr 4044 and Mi 818.

this caution quite clearly. To begin a comparison of the prayers for the mass, then, it is necessary to ignore for the time being whatever evidence has been found within the chant comparisons, and once a complete comparison of prayers has been made, the two sets of groups can be compared to each other to see whether any of them suggest a ‘complete’ version of the mass.

The readings for the mass are fairly straight forward.⁶⁸ Three variations exist for the epistle reading, and two for the gospel reading, none of which are unusual selections. For the epistle the manuscripts use either *Dominus possedit me* or, in two cases, *Egredietur virga*. The third epistle ‘reading’ is actually the absence of a reading: in each of these cases the mass contains a rubric pointing to the Nativity for its items, and so clearly the reading would come from there, similar to the ‘Type N’ selection of chants. The gospel reading (‘evangelium’) is even more unified in its selection, with each source providing either the reading from Matthew chapter 1 that is often seen in the Nativity of Mary (‘*Liber generationis*’), or no reading but a general rubric pointing to the Nativity.

Some of the rubrics are not completely self-explanatory. For example, Fr 7470 only requires the mass to be sung (‘*cantabitur*’) according to the Nativity, with a selection of proper prayers following: the readings are not mentioned in the rubric, nor are they given within the mass.⁶⁹ This is in contrast to Mi 116, wherein the scribe was careful to write the rubric in such a way as to make clear exactly what was and was not drawn directly from the Nativity: namely, that everything in the office is to be drawn from the Nativity, except for the prayers which followed.⁷⁰ In general, these variations in themselves are too inconsistent to prove any filial relationships between the sources, but they do show some wonderful insight into the thought processes of the rubricators and the choices they had to make when copying a mass for a feast like the Conception: whether, in the case of some of the graduals or Fr 7470, to maintain a traditional rubric that refers to the Nativity even when the propers copied into the mass itself are not from the Nativity, or to use a similar rubric which refers only the cantor to the Nativity, even though the readings—performed presumably by the deacon—are missing from the mass

⁶⁸ See Table 26.

⁶⁹ ‘*In conceptione sancte marie Officium misse cantabitur ut in natiuitate eiusdem Requiritur...*’ with the proper prayers following after the rubric; MPO, Fr 7470, fol. 1r.

⁷⁰ ‘*In conceptione sancte marie virginis totum officium sicut in natiuitate eiusdem cum istis collectis*’; MPO, Mi 116 (Fr 26440, verso).

Table 26. Gospel and Epistle readings for the Conception mass in Swedish fragments

Gospel reading/ Evangelium	Fragments
Liber generationis	Evg P A 1 (Fr 25047), fol. 1r Fr 3828, fol. 2r Fr 4800, fol. 1v Fr 8623, fol. 2r (as 'ewangelium') Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v (as 'ewangelium') Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r (copied in full)
'As Nativity' (rubric)	Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v Fr 8611, fol. 2v Mi 58 (Fr 26221) Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v
[content missing]	Fr 4044, fol. 1r Fr 8743, fol. 2v Fr 8873, fol. 1v
Epistle	Fragments
Dominus possedit me	Fr 3828, fol. 2r Fr 8611, fol. 2v Fr 8623, fol. 2r Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v
Egredietur virga	Fr 4044, fol. 1r Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v
'As Nativity' (rubric)	Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v Mi 58 (Fr 26221) Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v
[content missing]	Fr 4800, fol. 1v Fr 8743, fol. 2v Fr 8873, fol. 1v Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r

entry as well; or whether, as in the case of Mi 116, to match the rubric with what is present in the mass entry, so that the rubric ritually and pedagogically makes logical sense.

The prayers themselves are perhaps the best evidence for determining the feast's routes of transmission into Sweden. The collect in particular has a very strong continuity amongst all of the sources, with only Mi 171 — whose entire mass refers to

the Nativity—forming a significant variation. The secret and postcommunion or complenda prayers have somewhat more variety, but are still overwhelmingly represented by a single version. This version, as can be seen in Tables 27 through 29, is the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon feast of the Conception, or Dary’s ‘Type A’.

Only four sources deviate from the Anglo-Saxon prayers in the secret and complenda, Mi 4044, Mi 818 and Sequ 139. The first two actually match in their own prayers, although with some minor alterations of wording; neither of these prayers are seen in any of Dary’s older versions of the mass, although there is still much work that can be done to determine whether and where they occur in later medieval sources. The fragment for Sequ 139 unfortunately lacks the folio which would have contained the collect, but the secret and complenda both come from one of the sets of prayers found with Dary’s ‘Type B’ sources (B-3), with the inevitable alterations of word order and phrasing that would come from centuries of use and changing doctrine regarding the Conception of Mary. One other fragment, Mi 171, also deviates from the composed Anglo-Saxon prayers but instead takes them directly from the Nativity. Despite these exceptions, it can be said that the Anglo-Saxon prayers survived, in many cases almost completely unaltered, right up to the end of the Middle Ages in Sweden.

In general, the prayer groups, reading groups, and chant groups do not show any meaningful signs of congruence, suggesting that they did travel independently of each other, or at least were not always treated as being part of a singular mass. Three speculative groups for the totality of the mass, however, can be seen, and these are demonstrated in Tables 30 and 31: in all aspects, Fr 4044 and Mi 818 show the same mass; Fr 8623 and Mi 352 show the same mass; and Mi 58 and Mi 116 show the same mass. This is including the way in which they handle their rubrics. Fr 4044 has a Swedish provenance and survives in the accounts for Västmanland; Mi 818 exhibits the use of Uppsala, and its many folios survive in the local accounts for Hälsingland 1556-1625, suggesting that it may in fact have been used within the diocese. There is a speculative possibility as well that Fr 10302 (Swedish provenance, bound to the Västergötland accounts of 1624) and Fr 3828 (unknown provenance, from the local Uppland accounts of 1612-13) also are part of this group, which would help further tie this version to Uppsala, if not elsewhere. Fr 8623 and Mi 352 have no known medieval provenance, but Mi 352 was used to wrap local accounts of Östergötland in 1590-93; the gradual Gr 2 (likely exhibiting the use of Västerås) can be added to this group by

Table 27. Collects for the Conception mass in Swedish fragments

Fragments	Collect
Fr 3828, fol. 2r Fr 4044, fol. 1r Fr 8623, fol. 2r (as 'oratio')	Deus qui beate marie uirginis concepcione angelico uaticinio parentibus predixisti. presta huic familie tue : eius presidiis muniri. cuius conceptionis sacra sollempnia congrua frequentacione ueneratur per
Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v	Deus qui de beate marie virginis concepcione angelico vaticinio parentibus predixisti. presta huic familie tue eius presidiis muniri. cuius conceptionis sacra sollempnia agrua frequentacione veneratur. Per.
Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v Fr 8611, fol. 2v	Deus qui beate marie virginis conceptionem . angelico vaticinio parentibus predixisti. presta huic familie tue . eius precibus muniri cuius conceptionis sacra solempnia. congrua frequentacione veneratur Per
Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v	Deus qui beate marie conceptionem angelico vaticinio parentibus predixisti presta huic presenti familie eius presidiis muniri cuius conceptionis sacra solempnia congrua frequentacione veneratur Per
Fr 4800, fol. 1v	Deus qui beate marie uirginis concepcionem angelico uaticinio parentibus predixisti: presta huic familie ipsius presidiis ubique muniri: cuius sacre conceptionis solempnia letatur et debita laude uenerari . Per.
Mi 58 (Fr 26221) Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso	Deus qui beate marie uirginis concepcionem angelico uaticinio parentibus predixisti: presta huic familie ipsius presidiis ubique muniri: cuius sacre conceptionis solempnia letatur se debita laude uenerari . Per dominum .
Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v	As Nativity
Fr 8743, fol. 2v Fr 8873, fol. 1v Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r	[content missing]

virtue of its chant selection, but this is not enough evidence to suggest that any one of these manuscripts comes from that diocese. Finally, Mi 58 and Mi 116 both have strong connections to Västerås: both have been attributed to the diocese's local use, and Mi 58 comes local accounts within the diocese itself. Mi 116 was kept in Stockholm where it was used to bind various types of accounts between 1549 and 1550, and as such suggests that it was either already in Stockholm by 1549, or was one of the many books from the monastery and cathedral libraries that were confiscated by the crown at that time—perhaps even from Västerås cathedral itself.

Table 28. Secrets for the Conception mass in Swedish fragments

Fragments	Secret
Fr 8873, fol. 1v	... bus salutaria fore concede. Per eu
Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v	...sanctifica dominus... intervencione nobis salutaria fore condede Per
Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v	Sanctifica quesumus domine muneris oblati libamina et beate dei genitricis marie saluberrima interuencione nobis salutaria fore concede.
Fr 8623, fol. 2r	Sanctifica quesumus domine muneris oblati libamina et beate dei genitricis marie salubrima interuencione nobis salutaria fore concede Per
Fr 8611, fol. 2v	Sanctifica domine muneris presentis oblati libamina: et beate dei genitricis marie saluberrima interuencione. nobis salutaria fore concede. Per.
Mi 58 (Fr 26221) Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso	Sanctifica domine muneris oblati libamina. et beate dei genitricis saluberrima interuencione. cuius conceptionem celebramus. nobis salutaria fore concede. Per eundem.
Fr 4800, fol. 1v	Sanctifica domine muneris oblati libamina: et beate dei genitricis salisberrima interuencione cuius conceptionem celebramus nobis salutaria fore concede. Per.
Fr 4044, fol. 1r	Deus qui filium tuum pro sabite nostra de sancta maria virgine incarnatum in hunc mundum misisti. quesumus ut oblacionis misterium quod pro ipsius incarnationis sacramento tue maiestati est oblatum prope tue salutis nobis tribue gaudium endum
Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v	Deus qui filium tuum pro sabite nostra de sancta maria virgine incarnatum in hunc mundum misisti. quesumus ut per huius oblacionis misterium quod pro ipsius incarnationis sacramento tue maiestati est oblatum prope tue salutis nobis tribue gaudium endum
Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r	Salutarem hostiam tibi omnipotens pater ymmolantes imploramus de menciam tuam. ut genitricis filii tui supplicacione placatus per eam. nos a [possimus?] omnibus absolvas ~ et ad insionem glorie perducas. Per eum
Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v	As Nativity
Fr 3828, fol. 2r Fr 8743, fol. 2v	[content missing]

**Table 29. Postcommunions/Complenda for the Conception
mass in Swedish fragments**

Fragments	Complenda
Fr 8873, fol. 1v	Repleti vitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati misteriis supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus vt beate marie semper virginis cuius venerandam colimus. conceptionem pia interuencione coniungi mereamur gaudiis supernorum
Fr 8623, fol. 2r	Repleti vitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati misteriis supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus vt beate marie semper virginis cuius venerandam colimus. conceptionem pia interuencione coniungi mereamur gaudiis ciuium supernorum. Per dominum.
Fr 8611, fol. 2v Fr 8743, fol. 2v Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v	Repleti vitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati misteriis supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus vt beate marie semper virginis cuius venerandam colimus. conceptionem pia interuencione coniungi mereamur gaudiis ciuium supernorum. Per.
Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v	Repleti vitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati misteriis supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus vt beate marie semper virginis cuius venerandam colimus. conceptionem pia interuencione coniungi mereamur gaudiis ciuium supernorum.
Mi 58 (Fr 26221) Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso	Repleti vitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati misteriis supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus vt beate dei genitricis et virginis marie cuius conceptionem venerando recolimus. pia eius interuencione perpetuis sociari mereamur gaudiis ciuium super nox. Per eundem.
Fr 4800, fol. 1v	Repleti uitalibus alimoniis et diuinis reparati mysteriis te supplices ex rogamus omnipotens deus ut beate dei genitricis semper uirginis marie. cuius conceptionem uenerando recolimus. pia eius interuentione perpetuis sociari mereamur ...
Fr 4044, fol. 1r	Sumptum quesumus domine tue gratie sacramentum sanctissima unigeniti tui genitrix virgo maria nobis ad redempcionis eterne prouenire obtineat remedium Per dominum
Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v	Sumptum quesumus domine tue gratie sacramentum sanctissima vnigeniti tui genitrix virgo maria ...
Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r	Celestis alimonie uegetati libamine quesumus domine deus noster ut gloriose semper uirginis maie nos soueat continua protectio cuius nostra ... causa salutis extitit hodierna conceptio.
Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v	As Nativity
Fr 3828, fol. 2r	[content missing]

Table 30. Mass prayers for the Conception feast in Swedish fragments, collated and organized in groups

Fragments	Collect	Secret	Complenda	Epistle	Evangelium
Fr 7470, fol. 1r-v	A	A	A	N	N
Fr 8611, fol. 2v	A	A	A	1	N
Fr 8623, fol. 2r	A	A	A	1	1
Mi 352 (Fr 26954), fol. 1v	A	A	A	1	1
Fr 4800, fol. 1v	A'	A'	A'	?	1
Mi 58 (Fr 26221)	A'	A'	A'	N	N
Mi 116 (Fr 26440), verso	A'	A'	A'	N	N
Fr 4044, fol. 1r	A	1	1	2	?
Mi 818 (Fr 10114), fol. 1v	A	1	1	2	1
Sequ 139 (Fr 7115), fol. 1r	?	B-3	B-3	?	1
Fr 3828, fol. 2r	A	?	?	1	1
Fr 8743, fol. 2v	?	?	A	?	?
Fr 8873, fol. 1v	?	A	A	?	?
Mi 171 (Fr 4572), fol. 2v	N	N	N	N	N
Evg P A 1 (Fr 25047), fol. 1r	—	—	—	—	1

A: From the 'Type A' mass prayers B: From the 'Type B' mass prayers

N: From the Nativity mass prayers 1 and 2: prayers not known elsewhere

Table 31. Mass chants for the Conception feast in Swedish fragments, collated and organized in groups

	Fragment	Type	Refers to				
			Nativity?	Introit	Gradual	Offertory	Communion
‘Type C’	Fr 4044	Mi	no	C+v	C	C	C
	Fr 10302	Gr	yes	C+v	C+v	C	C
	Fr 11712	Gr	yes	C	?+v	C	C
	Gr 76 (Fr 25249)	Gr	yes	C	C+v	C	C
	Mi 818 (Fr 10114)	Mi	no	C	C+v	C	C
‘Type C?’	Fr 3828	Mi	no	C+v	C+v	?	?
‘Type C’ with later variations	Gr 2 (Fr 25070)	Gr	no	C	C+v	D’	D’
	Fr 8623	Mi	no	C	C+v	D’	D’
	Mi 352 (Fr 26954)	Mi	no	C+v	C+v	D’	D’
Other versions	Fr 1114	Gr	no	B/C	1+v+s	D’	D’
	Fr 4800	Mi	no	B	B	D’	C
	Sequ 139 (Fr 7115)	Mi	?	?	?	1	D’
	Fr 7470	Mi	yes	N	N	N	N
	Fr 8611	Mi	yes	B/C	N	N	N
	Fr 8873	Mi	yes	N	N	N	N
‘Type N’	Mi 58 (Fr 26221)	Mi	yes	N	N	N	N
	Mi 116 (Fr 26440)	Mi	yes	N	N	N	N
	Mi 171 (Fr 4572)	Mi	yes	N	N	N	N
Unknown	Fr 8743	Mi	?	?	?	?	?

Notes: ‘Gradual 1’ = Audi filia ‘Offertory 1’ = Filie regum ‘+s’ = sequence ‘Ave Maria’
‘+v’ (for introit) = verse ‘Conceptio tua dei genitrix’
‘+v’ (for gradual) = verse ‘Conceptio gloriose virgine’

3.1.4 Concluding remarks on the Conception mass

Ultimately, the scattered nature of the Conception mass dictates that very few of these manuscripts can be placed into a specific local use by virtue of this mass alone. However, two very early versions of the mass retain a strong and fairly unadulterated presence in the sources, even after several centuries: the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon version from Winchester which survives only in its prayers, and the twelfth-century

Norman version from Fécamp which seems to have been known primarily by its chants. Dary's typology of the early Conception masses is very useful in helping to differentiate the major influences of these sources, but as always the reality of the sources themselves often defies these classifications—for example, it would be foolhardy to suggest without further proof that any of the sources whose chant versions I have labelled as D' (i.e., similar to the 'Type D' Douai version, but with the chant orders mixed around), actually have anything directly to do with the Douai feast itself, and not some other late medieval variation that gained popularity in western Europe in the intervening centuries.

In fact, the Swedish sources force a crucial but often unmentioned realization concerning the early versions of the Conception feast in the west: that the actual limits between one 'version' and another are completely unknown to us. The particulars of the musical portion of the Anglo-Saxon mass are unknown, and so it is impossible to say whether any of the other early versions are in fact continuations of the Anglo-Saxon one, perhaps only with new prayers (or not, as has been shown with Dary's continental 'Type A' sources). This last point is made more salient when including the Swedish fragments in the discussion, since the tendency for the 'Type C' chants to be paired with the 'Type A' prayers in Sweden reflects some of the tendencies in Dary's own 'Type A' sources from the twelfth century. The traditional narrative of extirpation of the early history of the feast, inherited ultimately from Edmund Bishop, may not be true at all, and it can very easily be the case that the Norman feast of Fécamp and the Anglo-Saxon feast of Winchester are in fact one and the same entity. Or it could be that the Anglo-Saxon prayers and the feast as it is dictated in the *Ælfsige* legend is true.

Indeed, much of the scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon feast relies on the absence of evidence to suggest its main arguments: whether it was targeted and censured by the Norman clergy; whether it died out in England; whether it was successfully transmitted out of Britain before dying out; where and how it was revived, if it did in fact cease to be celebrated. We cannot, for example, actually prove that the feast originated in Anglo-Saxon England, only that it is most likely that it did. It is entirely possible that further research will suggest that Bouman's intuition was closer to the truth than others at first realized, that the Normans very easily could have had some hand in the origins of the feast in the eleventh century, or were at least celebrating it in some capacity prior to the twelfth century. Furthermore, it is readily apparent that whatever the history of the

Conception feast in the Anglo-Norman world may have been, it had been transmitted into Scandinavia very early on, certainly in the early or mid-twelfth century, possibly even in the eleventh century when the Anglo-Saxon 'A-type' prayers predominated.

3.2 The proper office for St Oswald

St Oswald, king of Northumbria (c. 604-642) was credited by Bede as the figure who introduced Christianity into Northumbria. Coming from a line of kings in Northumbria, Oswald was raised in exile in Scotland and taught as a Christian according to the customs of Iona, and as an adult he marched on the armies of Cadwallon ap Cadfan, king of Gwynedd, the pagan Briton who had conquered Northumbria and forced Oswald's family into exile. Before the battle he erected a cross, encouraging his men to pray beneath it for protection, and subsequently defeated Cadwallon and regained his hereditary rights as king. During his reign Oswald sponsored a vast programme of missionizing and churchbuilding in Northumbria, staffed mainly by Scottish, and perhaps Pictish, monks. He made Aidan, a monk of Iona, his bishop, and founded Lindisfarne for him. He was later killed in battle by an invading pagan warlord, and his cult spread quickly throughout Britain, especially in the north; through various avenues of cultural interaction he also became very popular in Ireland, Flanders and southern Germany by the ninth and tenth centuries.⁷¹

Two proper offices exist for St Oswald of Northumbria, one of which appears to have originated in England while the other originated on the continent. The oldest source for either office is still thought to be Bergues, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 15, a twelfth-century compilation of material associated with Drogo of St Winnoc's Abbey in Bergues.⁷² Drogo wrote a Life of St Oswald in the twelfth century, which was heavily

⁷¹ David Hiley, 'The Office chants for Saint Oswald' (2008), 244-46. In addition to being previously the most comprehensive comparative study of Oswald's English office, Hiley's chapter includes a detailed summary of King Oswald as a figure, with a bibliography of various aspects of Oswald studies.

⁷² The manuscript has been the subject of divergent numbers of identification. The most up to date catalogue, the online *Catalogue des Manuscrits Notés* (CMN), identifies it as Ms. 15 (<http://musmed.fr/CMN/FBEGbm.htm>), accessed 30 May, 2016. In the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 26 (1897), 662-63, it is identified as Ms. 19. Paul Bayart identified it as Ms. 14 in his study, which was also the number used by Andrew Hughes and David Hiley. Cf. page 162, n. 76.

based on the original account transmitted by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book III, Chapters 1-13 (abbreviated here as *HE* III:1-13).⁷³ Accompanying his *Vita* in Bergues Ms. 15 is a proper monastic office for St Oswald. The text of the office was first published in the *Analecta Hymnica* as vol. 13, no. 81, with a total list of nine manuscripts transmitting the office, a number that has today only been supplemented by the addition of Bergues Ms. 15, the oldest of the group.⁷⁴ The manuscripts are all centred along the high (southern) portion of the Rhine, with the only exceptions of Bergues Ms. 15 and possibly one other source, cryptically identified in *Analecta Hymnica* as 'Cod. Stirpinen. 35'.⁷⁵ The office itself has been the subject of musicological studies by Paul Bayart, Andrew Hughes and David Hiley, and because its oldest source is associated with St Winnoc's Abbey in Flanders, David Hiley has termed it the 'Flemish' office.⁷⁶

The English version of the office likely originated in Durham, also in the twelfth century.⁷⁷ What Hiley identifies as the 'Durham' version of the office is transmitted in three sources: Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.55, fols. 68v-69v (Durham, s. XII

⁷³ Drogo's *Vita sancti Oswaldi* is edited in *Acta sanctorum*, August vol. 2 (1867), 94-103, and as BHL 6362 in *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina: antiquae et mediae aetatis*, vol. 2 (1900-01), 919-20 no. 6362.

⁷⁴ *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 13 (1892), no. 81, p. 209-12. The list of manuscripts was repeated in David Hiley, 'The office chants for St Oswald' (2008), 246-47.

⁷⁵ 'Stirpinen.' was interpreted by David Hiley as Etrépagny in Eure, Normandy (from Orbus Latinus online: *Stirpiniacum*), but it may in fact be referring to Sterzing/Vipiteno, South Tyrol (from Orbus Latinus online: *Stirpiacum*), which would place it much closer to the other sources geographically. David Hiley, 'The office chants for St Oswald' (2008), 246; Orbus Latinus online (<http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/Graesse/contents.html>), accessed 30 May, 2016.

⁷⁶ Paul Bayart, 'Les offices de Saint Winnoc et de Saint Oswald d'après le manuscrit 14 de la Bibliothèque de Bergues', *Annales du Comité flamand de France* 35 (1926), which gathered together smaller studies spread across issues of the *Bulletin du Comité flamand de France* (1906 and 1908) and the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (January - May, 1908). Andrew Hughes published comparative studies of the poetic and modal organization of chants in the English and Flemish office in Andrew Hughes, 'British rhymed offices' (1993) and Andrew Hughes, 'The monarch as object of liturgical veneration' (1993). David Hiley, 'The Office chants for Saint Oswald' (2008) is an updated study that makes use of an expanded number of English sources. Hiley's essay is recommended for its bibliography and historiography of both the English and continental offices, which are more exhaustive than is provided here.

⁷⁷ David Hiley, 'Office chants for St Oswald' (2008), 247-48. The Durham sources were not included in Andrew Hughes, 'British rhymed offices' (1993).

second half), Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 657, fols. 45r-46v (s. XIII first quarter), and London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4664 (Coldingham cell of Durham, 1270-80).⁷⁸ Two other sources transmit a very similar version, obviously taken from the Durham office but with a small number of extra chants imported from the Flemish office: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. F.4.10, fols. 258r-62r and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gough Liturg. 17, fols. 227r-28v; as both manuscripts come from Peterborough Abbey, this variant has been dubbed the ‘Peterborough’ version of the English office.⁷⁹

John Toy’s catalogue of Scandinavian liturgical sources featuring English local saints lists all of the known manuscripts, manuscript fragments and printed sources in Scandinavia containing at least some mention of St Oswald. Of these, thirteen of them provide content for his office.⁸⁰ All but one of these provide only a short or ‘common’ office: that is, they present only a collect, a short list of three or six lesson readings for matins, perhaps a proper collect that has been taken from the mass for St Oswald, and no proper chants. The only proper office is found in Helsinki, University Library, F.m. III.29, a breviary fragment variously dated to the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and of primarily English influence in its preparation and layout. This fragment transmits a shortened, but proper, version of the Peterborough version of the English office.⁸¹

Even though Helsinki, F.m. III.29 provides the only evidence of either the English or Flemish offices being transmitted into Scandinavia, the remaining sources can still be used to determine the character and variety of the office in Scandinavia in general. What follows is a survey of the basic features of the English office; David Hiley and Andrew Hughes have already made fairly exhaustive studies of the musical

⁷⁸ The catalogue entry for Trinity O.3.55 in Iain Fenlon, ed., *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700* (1982), 35, lists Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. misc. 299, fol. 384r (Canterbury diocese) as another source transmitting the Durham Oswald office. However, the office in this manuscript is a short office and contains no proper contents, only a prayer and three lessons for matins.

⁷⁹ David Hiley, ‘Office chants for St Oswald’ (2008), 257-59 provides a comparative inventory of either version of the English office, as well as a comparison of the Peterborough version to the Flemish office.

⁸⁰ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 155-62.

⁸¹ *Fragmenta membranea*, F.m. III.29. The fragment was used to cover Finnish provincial accounts in 1578.

features of the office, and this survey will instead focus on the lesson readings and prayers, and how these correspond to the musical portion of the office. After this, the Scandinavian sources will be compared to the English office and to each other, with an emphasis on the sources in the Swedish MPO and Finnish FM.

3.2.1 Lesson readings in the English and Flemish offices

Lesson readings for matins are present in only one English manuscript with the proper office, Harley 4664. Each of its eight lessons is quite short. The first is taken from the opening of an anonymous Passion for St Oswald which must have been known in England as well as on the continent.⁸² It summarizes the pertinent historical material of Bede's *HE* III.1: 'Although the successors of Edwin, King of the English, who had fallen back into apostasy, had stood out as a detriment to his own people and faith, and to his great kingdom, and because of it soon lost both the divided kingdom and life in God's righteous judgment, King Oswald the most Christian of them extended his status, and amplified the authority of his rule.'⁸³

After the first lesson, the rest are simply pulled directly from the next chapter of Bede's history, *HE* III.2. This chapter deals exclusively with the battle of Denisesburn in which Oswald drove out the pagan Briton king Cadwallon, and with the cross that Oswald erected nearby in Heavenfield, before the battle. The division of material is one of simple sentence divisions, with one or two sentences per lesson. Curiously, the only

⁸² The Passion is transmitted in Liège, Bibliothèque universitaire, Ms. 58 E, fols. 97v-98v. The manuscript is a compilation of Passions belonging to the abbey of St Trudo in Limburg, dated to 1366. The Passion for Oswald, like most other *Vitae* for the saint, is primarily edited from selected passages in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. The first lesson in Harley 4664 is a close copy of the opening passage of the Passion found in the St Trudo manuscript, with only two exceptions: 'sue genti' is rendered (less correctly) as 'sue gentis', and 'eorum statum' lacks the inner phrase 'eorum loco succedens deo annuente et fidei statum'. General descriptions and inventories for the St Trudo manuscript can be found in *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 5 (1886), 354-55, no. 17; M. Grandjean, ed., *Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège: Catalogue des manuscrits* (1875), 176-77, no. 238; and François Masai *et al.*, *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique* vol. 1 (1968), 38-39, no. 60, in both cases identified as Ms. 256. In the two nineteenth-century catalogues the manuscript is identified as Ms. 256, not Ms. 58 E.

⁸³ Successores ađwini regis anglorum in apostosiam corruentes cum sue gentis et fidei et regno magno extitissent detrimento. et obid iusto dei iudicio regnum pariter et uitam inbreui amisissent; oswaldus rex christianissimus eorum statum propagauit et regni imperium ampliavit.

sentence that is skipped over from Bede is at the end of Oswald's speech at Heavenfield, where he ends his exhortation for the troops to pray for God's mercy and defence by adding, 'because He knows that we have taken up these righteous wars for the safe deliverance of our people.'⁸⁴ The only mention of any miracles comes in the sixth lesson, which describes how for generations locals came to Heavenfield to collect splinters of the cross for their healing properties, and its inclusion can be explained away as a practical consideration: it is simply the next sentence after the one used in the fifth lesson, and the sentence immediately before the one used in the seventh.⁸⁵ Additionally, the final eighth lesson produces an awkward ending to the series, ending it abruptly with a description of where Heavenfield is located—not far south of Hadrian's Wall.⁸⁶ At first glance it appears that the lesson selection in Harley 4664 was performed without any forethought: that the scribe simply took an available Passion of Oswald and an exciting but ultimately irrelevant section of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and simply copied out the sentences until they filled up eight lesson readings. The rest of the second chapter of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which include miracles of Oswald's cross that are referenced directly in the chants of the English office, and the other chapters which detail his martyrdom, saintliness in life or miracles after death would have provided a much stronger thematic connection, after all, and the other manuscripts compared here all draw their lessons from those sections. However, the readings do provide something that the musical and prayer texts of the office do not: they physically locate the events of Oswald's earthly reign within Northumbria, sites which must have held some real familiarity, geographically and socially, to the brothers at Durham and its cell in Coldingham. This can explain both why Harley 4664 uses such an unusual passage for its lessons, and why these readings might not have been used at Peterborough, on the continent or in Scandinavia, where the sites of Heavenfield and Denisesburn would have had only abstract significance.

A short form of the office, with three readings, is also preserved in a manuscript from the diocese of Canterbury, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. misc. 299. Its

⁸⁴ '...scit enim ipse, quia iusta pro salute gentis nostrae bella suscepimus.' *HE* III.2 §2, p. 214.

⁸⁵ Harley 4664, fol. 249v. 'Nam *et* usque hodie multi de ipso ligno sacro *sancte* crucis hastulas excidere solent quas cum in aquas miserint eisque languentes homines aut pecudes potauerint. siue asperserint: mox sanitati restituuntur.' *HE* III.2 §5, pp. 216-18.

⁸⁶ Harley 4664, fol. 249v. *HE* III.2 §6, p. 218.

readings are also taken from Bede, but from an entirely different section from those in Harley 4664. The three lessons in Laud. misc. 299 comprise a thoroughly edited reduction of Bede's *HE* III.9-10. The first lesson covers the death and subsequent popularity of Oswald due to many miracles associated with him (cf. Bede *HE* III.9 §1-5). The second lesson continues in this vein, detailing the first of the two miracles associated with the spot of his martyrdom, where the horse and paralysed girl were both healed by being brought to the place (cf. Bede *HE* III.9 §9-17). The final lesson likewise presents an edited summary of the other miracle, that of the burning house (cf. *HE* III.10); however, the final two sentences of this chapter in Bede's *HE*, which describes how the witnesses were amazed and caused Oswald's fame as a saint to be spread throughout the region, are instead replaced with an earlier passage from the previous chapter that was edited out of the first two lessons (cf. *HE* III.9 §6-8). Of the manuscripts included in this study, this is the only one whose lessons use the source text for *In loco regis*, an antiphon placed in the second nocturn: 'In that place, because of the king's sacred destruction, men and beasts of burden are saved, the land itself is drawn up and turned into the salvation of many.'⁸⁷

In contrast to the English office, the readings of the Flemish office appear to have been drawn not from Bede directly, but from subsequent *vitae* of Oswald which are themselves based on Bede. The twelfth-century manuscript Bergues, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 15, the oldest source for this version of the office (and hence why Hiley refers to this version as the 'Flemish' office), uses Drogo's *Vita sancti Oswaldi*.⁸⁸ Another manuscript, Fulda A.a. 56, a monastic breviary of the thirteenth century from Wiengarten, draws its readings from a Passion for St Oswald that occurs regularly in continental sources. This Passion—which is distinct from the anonymous Passion that served as a source for one of the Harley 4664 readings—draws mainly from Bede but contains an original opening section and is much edited.⁸⁹ The passages used in Fulda

⁸⁷ 'In loco regis excidio sacrato homines et iumenta saluantur ipsa terra in multorum salutem exhauritur.'

⁸⁸ David Hiley, 'The office chants for St Oswald' (2008), 246-47.

⁸⁹ Fulda, Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 100 A.a. 56, fols. 152v-54r. The Passion used here was read throughout central Europe, and survives in, for example, Czech Republic, State Institute of Cultural Heritage in Pilsen, Ms. Kynžvart 41, fols. 72r-78v (s. XII 2/2), Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, Benediktinerstift, Bibliothek, Ms. a IX 34 (c. 1400) inventoried online in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften in Österreich*, and in Bruno

A.a. 56 come from the opening, which focuses on Oswald's early years being schooled by Scottish monks and his success at Maserfield under the sign of the cross.

3.2.2 Lesson readings in the printed Scandinavian sources

Only two printed Scandinavian breviaries contain offices for Oswald, both from Denmark: the 1497 breviary of Odense and the 1517 breviary of Roskilde.⁹⁰ Neither provides any proper content beyond the readings (six in total) and a single prayer: this prayer John Toy labels as Collect A, one of a series of prayers found throughout English and Scandinavian sources as the collect prayer of Oswald's mass.⁹¹ The lesson readings in both ultimately draw from the same source, Bede's *HE* III.9-12, the portion of Bede's account that deals with the aftermath of Oswald's death and his posthumous miracles, but do so in different ways. Table 32 illustrates the narrative structure in Bede's biography of Oswald, and Table 33 shows how Bede's text was used to provide the lessons for each of the two printed breviaries.

The material in the Odense and Roskilde breviaries is taken largely from the same chapters in Bede, but after the first two lessons very little of the subject matter carries over from one source to the other. The *Breviarium Roskildense* (Roskilde) focuses almost exclusively on the miraculous aspects of the place of Oswald's martyrdom and the two initial miracles recorded by Bede. It tends to quote exactly from Bede, though some paraphrasing exists in the first and last lessons; unusually, it divides the inaugural miracle in Chapter 9 into two separate readings and moves them to the end of the lesson cycle. The *Breviarum Othoniense* (Odense), on the other hand, is almost entirely paraphrased, and omits all mentions of specific miracles, focusing instead on general descriptions of the holiness and miraculous healing qualities of the spot. In the final lesson it returns to the first lesson's theme of Oswald's death, this time in the context of Oswald's proverbial prayer. Moreover, the text of this last lesson is appended with an original ending: 'Therefore, so great are you, supported with merits and prayers, that through the ensuing pardon of sins we might be enriched with the everlasting prize

Krusch, ed., *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum: Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. 5 (1920), 690.

⁹⁰ Their offices are transcribed in John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 158-59, as B_Otho and B_Rosk.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* Toy lists Collects A through E. Cf. page 179.

Table 32. Narrative organization of Oswald's life in Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Book III

The § sign in the table refers to sentences in the edition by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), so that specific portions of the text can be identified easily. For the purposes of this study, the sentences have been counted from full stops (periods) only, ignoring colons and semicolons

Ch. 1. 'At interfecto in pugna Aeduino...'

- A) §1-5 exile of family
- B) §6-9 Cædwallon conquers Northumbria
- C) §10 victory at Denisesburn

Ch. 2. 'Ostenditur autem usque hodie...'

- A) §1-5 Oswald's cross, its fame & powers
- B) §6-10 location & significance of cross
- C) §11-17 **miracle:** moss (cross)

Ch. 3. Aidan his bishop, they build churches

Ch. 5. How Aidan was selected to become bishop

Ch. 6. Oswald's generosity and compassion

Ch. 9. 'Regnauit autem Osuald...'

- A) §1-3 Oswald's death
- B) §4-9 the spot's healing powers & fame
- C) §10-13 **miracle:** horse & girl pt. 1 (martyr)
- D) §14-17 **miracle:** horse & girl pt. 2 (martyr)

Ch. 10. 'Eodem tempore uenit...'

- A) §1-5 **miracle:** burning building (martyr)
- B) §6-7 the spot's fame across generations

Ch. 11. 'Inter quae nequaquam silentio...'

- A) §1-10 **miracle:** column of light (relics)
- B) §11-26 **miracle:** exorcised traveller (relics)

Ch. 12. 'Sequente dehinc tempore fuit...'

- A) §1-7 **miracle:** sick abbey boy (relics)
- B) §8-11 recap of Oswald's saintly qualities
- C) §12 'Oswald's proverb'
- D) §13-15 translation of his bones

Ch. 13. 'Nec solum inclyti fama uiri...'

- A) §1-3 Oswald's fame in Ireland
- B) §4-12 **miracle:** Irish skeptic (relics)

Table 33. Lessons of the Oswald office in printed breviaries from Scandinavia

Lesson	Odense 1497	Roskilde 1517
1	Ch. 9a (§1-3) <i>Oswald's death</i>	Ch. 9a (§1-3) <i>Oswald's death</i>
2	Ch. 9b (§4-5*) <i>holy nature of the spot</i>	Ch. 9ab (§3-5*) <i>death, holy nature of the spot</i>
3	Ch. 9b (§6 and 8*) <i>healing powers of the spot</i>	Ch. 10a (§1-2) <i>miracle: fire (setup)</i>
4	Ch. 10b (§7*) <i>growing fame of the spot</i>	Ch. 10a (§3-6) <i>miracle: fire (resolution)</i>
5	Ch. 12b (§8-9*) <i>Oswald's pious qualities, holiness of the spot</i>	Ch. 9bc (§6-13) <i>healing power of the spot, miracle: horse & girl (horse part)</i>
6	Ch. 12bc (§10-12), Ch. 13b (§8-9*) <i>proverb, concluding comments</i>	Ch. 9d (§14-17) <i>miracle: horse & girl (girl part)</i>

* = Exact quotation from Bede. All other passages are edited summaries.

in the heavenly citadel.’⁹² This exhortatory ending echoes a passage later in Bede, in III.13, where Bishop Acca relates an encounter of his with a terminally ill Irish scholar. The dialogue describes how ‘the occurrence of frequent miracles has borne witness’ to Oswald’s sanctity, and the scholar asks to be given a relic so that the ‘Lord may perhaps have mercy upon me through his merits’; Bishop Acca does so and admonishes him to believe that God can, through the merits of Oswald, grant him eternal life in Heaven.⁹³

⁹² *‘Tanti ergo suffragories meritis et precibus uenia consequenta peccatorum premio perhenni ditemur in arce polorum.’*

⁹³ “‘Audiuimus autem, et fama est creberrima, quia fuerit in gente uestra rex mirandae sanctitatis, uocabulo Osuald, cuius excellentia fidei et uirtutis, etiam post mortem, uirtutum frequentium operatione claruerit; precorque, si aliquid reliquiarum illius penes te habes, adferas mihi, si forte mihi Dominus per eius meritum misereri uoluerit.” ...ego respondi: “Habeo quidem de ligno, in quo caput eius occisi a paganis infixum est; et, si firmo corde credideris, potest diuina pietas per tanti meritum uiri et huius uitae spatia longiora concedere, et ingressu te uitae perennis dignum reddere.”’ Text and translations taken from Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (1969), 255.

3.2.3 Lesson readings in the Scandinavian fragments

John Toy listed five breviary sources in Scandinavian archives that preserve offices for Oswald. Four of them, all from Sweden, contain lesson readings: Br 260, Br 746, Leo 25 and Helsinki, F.m. III.29.

Lessons in Br 260

Br 260 is a breviary dated to the thirteenth century with five surviving fragments, all but one of which were attached to Småland accounts in 1551.⁹⁴ It contains feasts for King Olaf as well as King Oswald, placing its origin in Scandinavia.⁹⁵ Only the last portion of the office survives from this manuscript, on Fr 22206, fol. 2r, including the final lesson of matins, and what are likely to be the responsory and Magnificat antiphon of second vespers (*Miles christi* and *Hic est uir*, both from the Common).⁹⁶ The final lesson comes from Bede's *HE* III.12 and is identical to the final sixth lesson of the Odense Breviary of 1497, including the appended original ending that draws upon imagery in Book III.13. This lesson may be a Scandinavian feature, since it has only been found in Br 260 and the Odense Breviary.

Lessons in Br 746

Br 746 is a fragment of what was once a large breviary in folio format, measuring c. 155 mm × 210 mm with thirty-four lines in two columns, writing above the top line.⁹⁷ Two folios from the breviary have been identified: Fr 22956 and Fr 22957, one following the other in material and both attached to the same volume of Småland accounts from 1558. The fragment has been dated to the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries on the MPO, and John Toy has estimated a more restricted dating of

⁹⁴ MPO, Frs 22203-22206 and Fr 22225. The outlying fragment, Fr 22205, was attached to the 1551 accounts of Uppland, making it most likely that the manuscript was repurposed by the central administration in Stockholm, rather than locally within Småland.

⁹⁵ An example of the fragment is reproduced on Plate 15.

⁹⁶ Fr 22206, fol. 1r: '[Three illegible lines ...] iamque uideret se esse *perimendum* orauit *pro* animabus exercitus sui. Vnde dicunt in prouerbio. Deus miserere animalibus dixit oswaldus cadens in terram. Tunc ergo suffragatoris meritis *et* precibus uenia consecuta peccatorum; *premio* perhenni ditemur in arce *polorum*. **R.** *Miles christi*. **Ewn.** *Hic est uir.*'

⁹⁷ An example of the fragment is reproduced on Plate 17.

c. 1200. It boasts several large arabesque initials of high quality, all of which are in a style very reminiscent of Bi 16, a bible of the second half of the twelfth century from Alvastra Abbey, a prominent and quite possibly the first Cistercian abbey in Sweden, established in 1143. A direct connection to Alvastra is untenable, but the intersections of date and style at least demonstrate that the illustrator of Br 746 was comfortable with the ‘Alvastra style’ of arabesques that were being used in Swedish manuscripts during his career. From this at least it can be suggested that the fragment has visual similarities to others of the same general date which are known to be of Swedish origin.

One of the fragments belonging to Br 746, Fr 22957, has a short office for St Oswald rex on fol. 1rv, immediately following the second vespers Magnificat antiphon for the 3 August feast of the Invention of Stephen.⁹⁸ The office contains three lessons and a prayer only (Collect A).⁹⁹ The lessons all focus on miracles after Oswald’s death, specifically from those of his relics and his place of martyrdom. There are no mentions of the cross erected at Heavenfield or any miracles associated with it or its location.

The first lesson of Br 746 is taken from Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* III.9 §1, §3-6, §8 and §10, with both §1 and §3 being shortened to their opening phrases only.¹⁰⁰ The selections cover Oswald’s martyrdom in battle, the miraculous healing powers of the place in which he was killed, and oddly, only the beginning of the story of the sick

⁹⁸ *Hodie sanctus iohannes* (CANTUS 3118). The antiphon is listed in John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 156 as part of the Oswald office. The placement is deceptive, appearing directly before the first lection of matins—the first item of the Oswald office—and the rubric which begins the Oswald office is ambiguous since it only identifies the textual source for the matins lessons (‘*In vita sancti Osuualdi regis et martiris. Lectio .i.*’), rather than marking the beginning of the office itself. A similar arrangement can be seen in Br 1284 (Fr 23677), a twelfth-century breviary fragment featuring Franco-Germanic scripts in staffed music, text and initials, later bound to the Västmanland accounts of 1539. In this fragment the Invention of Stephen ends with *Hodie sanctus iohannes* as the last item for second vespers, followed by a single prayer (Collect C in John Toy’s edition) with the rubric, ‘Oswaldi’ (Fr 23677, fol. 1r).

⁹⁹ The office is transcribed in full in John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 155-57, as source S87.

¹⁰⁰ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 156 lists all of the readings as derived from Drogo’s *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, though all of the corresponding passage, which Drogo *Vita*, ch. III.26-27, is taken almost entirely from Bede’s *HE* III.9 §1-10. In the places where the Drogo text does diverge, such as the opening sentence, the naming of Penda as the Mercian king who killed Oswald, and the lengthy added passage following after the description of Maserfield, the text in Fr 22957 follows Bede instead.

horse. The sentence that introduces the two main miracles of Bede's text (those of the horse and girl, and of the burning building), which is usually present in lesson readings pulling from Bede III.9-10, is absent as well, creating a curious transitional ending to the first lesson that seems out of place in these otherwise expertly edited lessons.

The second lesson is from Bede III.9 §11-16 (= Drogo III.28-29), with some summary and shortening of sentences. In general, minor variations of wording follow Bede; for example, in the first sentence, 'in illud loci' (Bede) rather than 'ad illum locum' (Drogo). It continues the miracle of the traveller's sick horse, and the entire story of how this traveller later brought a paralysed girl to the spot to be healed in the same way.

The third lesson is a compilation of two sections from Bede. The first part follows Book III.10 §1 to III.11 §8 (= Drogo IV.30-33), shortened and edited throughout but notably using 'susceptus' (Bede) instead of 'receptus' (Drogo) in the passage from Bede III.10 §2. The passage relates the second of Bede's two miracles associated with Oswald's place of martyrdom, where a bag of soil from the spot conferred protection from the flames of a burning building, and the miracle of his relics, when a column of heavenly light shone on them throughout the night after the monks of Beardaneu refused to allow his bones into the abbey. The second half of the lesson is pulled from a later passage in Bede, Book III.12 §8-12 (= Drogo V.39), and is a summary and exposition on the merits of King Oswald in life, the efficacy of his sainthood after death, and finally the proverb that was associated with his martyrdom. Overall, the cycle closely resembles the narrative considerations of the printed breviaries of Odense and Roskilde: focused attention on the latter half of Bede's text, coupling descriptions of miracles with expositions on the saint's qualities that brought about those miracles. However, in Br 746 there is an expansion of content, to include not only miracles of the place of martyrdom, but also those tied directly to Oswald's relics.

Lessons in Leo 25

Leo 25 (Fr 25735) is the sole surviving folio fragment of a mid-twelfth-century lectionary, produced in a large choir format (c. 315 mm × 410 mm) and preserved as the

cover of Småland accounts from 1562.¹⁰¹ The folio is in two columns enclosed with single-bounding lines (1-2-1), and the guiding lines were pricked in the inner and outer margins for the horizontal lines, and top and bottom margins for the vertical lines.

Three lessons are given for St Oswald's office, all taken directly from Bede's *HE* III:9-10, the most common source for the lessons, but with general editing to shorten them somewhat. The fragment begins in the middle of the first lesson and presents *HE* III.9 §4-6, and according to the popularity and thematic flow of Chapter 9, likely had originally read III.9 §1-6 ('Regnauit autem Osuald christianissimus rex Norþanhymbrorum...'). The passage briefly describes the manner of Oswald's death and the healing qualities of his death spot, and is the single most common passage found in lesson readings. It almost always begins the first lesson, and in the case of the Odense and Roskilde breviaries it is spread across the first two readings. The statement about the great hole being dug into the ground because of the site's popularity, III.9 §7, is omitted, as in the Odense and Roskilde breviaries. The second lesson continues directly with III.9 §8-14, the passage of the story of the traveller whose sick horse was healed at Oswald's place of death. The continuation of the story in the last section of the chapter, wherein the traveller meets a sick girl and takes her to the spot to be healed (III.9 §15-17) is assigned to the third lesson, along with the bulk of the next chapter, which deals with the second miracle of Oswald's death spot, that of its soil protecting part of the burning house (III.10 §1-5). The final two sentences of Ch. 10, detailing the witnesses' role in spreading the location's fame, are omitted in the same way as Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. misc. 299; the fourth lesson of the Roskilde breviary does include this postscript, in the form of the first of the two final sentences. In fact, with the exception of splitting the two parts of the miracle in III.9 between the second and third lessons, the structure in Leo 25 is the same as that found in Bodleian Ms. Laud. misc. 299.

The manuscript was also edited after its original production, from three lessons to seven. The three original lessons were divided into lessons 1-6, by adding new divisions in black ink, now quite faded along the margins.¹⁰² At the end of the office the editor also included a note for the seventh lesson, which unusually appears to allow Biblical readings from either 2 John 1:10 ('If there come any unto you, and bring not

¹⁰¹ Examples of the fragment are found on Plates 34 and 35.

¹⁰² See Plate 35.

Table 34. Old and New Divisions of Lesson Readings in Leo 25

Old Lesson	New Lesson		
Division	Division	<i>HE</i> Passage	Subject
1	1	III.9ab (§1-4)	details of Oswald's death
	2	III.9b (§5-6)	the place of death has healed people and animals
2	3	III.9bc (§8-10)	its healing powers were due to his faith in life
	4	III.9cd (§11-14)	traveller's sick horse healed, he enters the inn
3	5	III.9d (§15-17)	traveller meets sick girl, takes her to holy spot
	6	III.10a (§1-5)	miracle of the burning house
–	(7)	–	(Biblical passages)

this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed'), or Luke 9:23 ('...If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.').¹⁰³ Table 34 illustrates the new divisions and changes to the readings.

These new readings seem out of place with the rest of the office, especially since passages in Bede which stress the role of the faithful in promoting and perpetuating the miracles of St Oswald are omitted. The miracle of the dying Irish scholar who was cured through a newfound faith in Oswald's relics and in God (III.13) might have prompted the addition of these Biblical passages, but that selection of text is quite rare amongst Oswald lesson readings. In actuality, the likely explanation is that the passages were selected for more general or practical reasons: the completion of Biblical readings throughout the year, or to fulfil a requirement for having Biblical readings in every office, perhaps.

Lessons in Helsinki, F.m. III.29

All three lessons of Helsinki F.m. III.29 are taken not from Bede or any Passion or *Vita* of Oswald, but rather from the responsories and antiphons of the English Oswald office itself.¹⁰⁴ The first lesson is a straightforward compilation of the first three of four

¹⁰³ MPO, Fr 25735, recto: '*lectio .vii. Siquis venit ad nos igitur in libro. Velis. Siquis vult post me venire. Require. .s. v.*' Compare these incipits to 2 John 1:10: '*Si quis venit ad vos, et hanc doctrinam non affert, nolite recipere eum in domum, nec Ave ei dixeritis*'; and to Luke 9:23: '*... Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam quotidie, et sequatur me.*'

¹⁰⁴ An example of the fragment is reproduced on Plate 33.

responsories for the first nocturn: *Rex sacerdos oswaldus*, *Hec crux oswaldi* and *Per crucis huius*. These responsories relate the contents of Bede's *HE* III.2, roughly in order: Oswald setting up the cross at Heavenfield and overcoming a superior enemy through his faith, the unique quality of the cross as the first Christian monument in Bernicia, and the innumerable miracles of healing performed by the cross on account of its and Oswald's qualities. The exclusion of the nocturn's fourth responsory, *Oswaldus christi deuotus*, can be explained by its own content: its descriptions of Oswald's three pious activities during his reign—namely, churchbuilding, land-giving and almsgiving—are taken from the next chapter, *HE* III.3.¹⁰⁵

Material from *HE* III.2 is also found in the Oswald matins readings from another manuscript, Harley 4664, as lessons three through eight. However, the two manuscripts had ultimately divergent motives for the selection. In Helsinki F.m. III.29, the text is drawn specifically from the responsory chants of the first nocturn and not from Bede's text; moreover, the chants used in the reading all come from first nocturn (the office in Helsinki F.m. III.29 has only one nocturn itself), and draw on material about Oswald's cross and its miraculous properties found in *HE* III.2. In opposition to this, the readings in Harley 4664 were pulled directly from the chapter, but ignore most of the passages about the miraculous qualities of the cross, and in fact appear to have been selected more for their historical context than anything else.¹⁰⁶

The second lesson also uses chant texts from the first nocturn: in this case, the antiphons *Inter cetera de huius crucis*, *Erat inclitus rex* and *Assumpsit sibi pontificem* (antiphons four through six); the first three antiphons of the nocturn are omitted from the reading because they already appear in their musical context as the three antiphons of the first, abbreviated, nocturn. The second lesson antiphons follow the same scheme established in the first reading of following Bede's text sequentially. *Inter cetera de huius crucis* refers to the miracle wherein the moss from Oswald's cross cured the invalid arm of a brother of Hexham Abbey (III.2 §12-17), which in Bede's *HE* directly follows where *Per crucis huius* ended and ends Chapter 2. *Erat inclitus rex* and *Assumpsit sibi pontificem* both follow, drawing on Chapter 3 but in this case reversing

¹⁰⁵ *Oswaldus christi deuotus* is, in fact, used later in the office as text for the third lesson. See below.

¹⁰⁶ Facets of London, British Library, Harley Ms. 4664 are discussed in greater detail in Sections 3.2.1, 3.2.4 and 3.2.5.

their order from Bede, in all likelihood because they were already presented in that order in the full office: *Erat inclitus rex* refers to Oswald's enthusiasm for missionizing within his realm, described in the latter half of the chapter, and *Assumpsit sibi pontificem* relates his meeting and partnership with Bishop Aidan (who would help him missionize), described in the first half of the chapter. This sequential progression through Bede's *HE* provides a practical reason for the separation of the first nocturn antiphons between musical texts and lesson texts: the first matins antiphon, *In signo dominice crucis*, repeats thematic content already presented in the responsories used for the first reading, helping to establish a literary theme for the nocturn; *Rex quatuor gencium* and *Cumque sederet*, however, draw from neither chapter, and instead refer to another section, *HE* III.6.¹⁰⁷ It is possible they were kept as matins antiphons not because of their content, but because of their already established order within the office's antiphon series.¹⁰⁸

The chants used in the third lesson in Helsinki F.m. III.29 cross over between the first and second nocturns: *Oswaldus christi deuotus* (fourth responsory of the first nocturn), *Pontificem sanctum sumpsit* and *Regnorum rector* (first and second responsories of the second nocturn), and finally all six antiphons of the second nocturn.¹⁰⁹ This last lesson is markedly different from those preceding it in two ways: firstly, it is much longer, being made of three responsory texts (and their verses) and six antiphon texts, twice the length of the first lesson and four times the length of the second; secondly, the chants used do not draw from Bede in strict sequential order, although they still generally follow the flow of Bede's chapters.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 'Denique omnes nationes et prouincias Brittaniae, quae in IIII linguas...', *HE* p. 230. The chapter relates the story where Oswald, being interrupted in his Easter feast by one of his officers with news of beggars outside, ordered that his meal be taken outside to them, and for the silver platter to be broken up so that the pieces could be distributed as well.

¹⁰⁸ The first and second nocturn antiphons in the English office follow a strict succession of modes, from mode 1 through mode 8, and rearranging them would interrupt the linear sequence. The pattern is already disturbed by moving some antiphons into readings, but by keeping the remaining antiphons in sequence they at least follow one mode after the other within their groups. See David Hiley, 'The Office Chants for St Oswald' (2008), 251-52.

¹⁰⁹ These six antiphons are *Sic beatus oswaldus*, *Rex principum confrater*, *Hunc martyrio sumptum*, *In loco regis excidio*, *Super sancti reliquias* and *De ligno cui coronandum*.

The interaction between chants and lessons in the office is haphazard at times. The first lesson, with texts drawing from *HE* III.2 about the battle of Maserfield and the erection of Oswald's cross, is paired with the second nocturn responsory *Rex anime fortis*, which draws on *HE* III.9 and III.11-12, which describe his martyrdom and a series of miracles stemming from his relics. The second lesson is paired with *Inclitus oswaldus*, juxtaposing Oswald's ambitions to spread the Christian faith within his kingdom (*HE* III.3) with his final proverbial cry at the moment of his martyrdom (*HE* III.12). The third reading is paired with the responsory *O regem et martyrem*, which is found only in the manuscript Magdalene F.4.10 from Peterborough Abbey, to be sung within the feast's octave as the final responsory in the third nocturn; the text of *O regem et martyrem* poetically describes Oswald's martyrdom in battle, aspersed in the blood of the fellow believers who died with him. The sung responsories capitalize on a common theme, that of the very event of Oswald's martyrdom, while his martyrdom is largely ignored throughout the readings. Instead, the readings focus on his life—the foundation of the cross as the region's first Christian monument, his good works, and his partnership with Aidan—with stress placed on the miracles performed after his death in relation to those three facets of his life.

The first two chants reiterate the contents of *HE* III.3 from the previous lesson, but by drawing upon different details within the chapter, namely Oswald's various pious activities and his practice of translating personally for Aidan during the bishop's sermons (although, as in the previous reading's material from *HE* III.3, the order of passages here and in Bede are switched). The following two chant texts, the responsory *Inclitus oswaldus* and the antiphon *Sic beatus oswaldus*, draw from *HE* III.6, where Oswald is described as having desired the heavenly kingdom more than his own earthly kingdom, followed by Aidan's prophecy that his right hand should become a holy relic; once again, the order of events is switched from Bede, where the prophetic event ends the chapter after a general description of Oswald's theological sentiments. The following three antiphons draw from *HE* III.9, specifically a continuation of his pious attributes and the sanctity of his place of martyrdom, *Super sancti reliquias* describes the column of light that shone on his bones in *HE* III.11, and finally *De ligno cui* relates the miracle of the Irish scholar cured from terminal illness by a splinter of the stake from which Oswald's head was displayed by his enemies, in *HE* III.13.

The texts of this reading are not entirely as scattered as they might at first seem. For example, the skip over Chapters 4-5 and Chapters 7-8 are because they do not deal with Oswald himself, but rather Iona, Bishop Aidan, King Cyneigils of Wessex and King Earconbert of Kent. However, the bulk of Chapters 9-10 is skipped, specifically the miracles performed by the site of Oswald's martyrdom, and Chapter 12 is skipped, which details further miracles of his relics and ends with the story behind the proverbial prayer attributed to him.¹¹⁰ In short, the third lesson continues to outline Bede's account of Oswald, in more or less the same progression as Bede, but omits the specifics of miracles other than those relating to his relics: i.e., miracles of Oswald's cross and of his place of martyrdom are not mentioned.

The thematic characteristics of all three readings are, of course, forced by the chant texts that were used to create them, however, it still appears as though the editor of this office made conscious and creative decisions in his compilation. The responsories that were used as lessons, though presented in normal order, were chosen from across two nocturns with a gap in between. Likewise, each group of antiphons always appears in sequential order, but the groups themselves are divided between chants and readings. The editor of this office seems not only to have been familiar with Bede's text, but also to have recognized how Bede's text influenced the composing and ordering of the English office antiphons and responsories. The resultant compilation in Helsinki F.m. III.29 is a truncated matins office that uses as much of the available office texts as possible, creatively grouped by theme as well as by passage in Bede's *HE*: the opening antiphons introduce Oswald as a just king and warrior of Christ, successful in war through his faith; the lesson readings generally follow the path of Bede's account of Oswald, with emphasis on his cross and its miracles, his pious living and subsequent sainthood, and the miracles of his relics; and the responsories explore in detail the act of his martyrdom, and through implication the creation of his relics. Perhaps the most readily apparent side effect of this editing is that the place of Oswald's martyrdom and its miracles, which are described in Chapters 9-10 in the *HE* and comprise the majority of the lesson content in other manuscripts, are wholly absent from this office apart from a brief mention in the antiphon *In loco regis* in the third lesson.

¹¹⁰ Cf. page 165, on the importance of the actual site in the lessons for Coldingham.

The basic structures for the matins lesson cycles in Br 260, Br 746, Leo 25 and F.m. III.29 are found in Table 35, compared directly to the lesson structures in the English sources London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4664 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. misc. 299.

3.2.4 Office prayers in English and Scandinavian sources

John Toy found five collect prayers used throughout seventeen mass sources and thirteen office sources from England, Hamburg and Scandinavia, which he lettered Collects A, B, C, D and F.¹¹¹ All but Collect C can be found within a separate tradition of the mass for St Oswald, mostly from England. The prayers are all formulaic in content, and none of them use any imagery or themes from Bede.

All three Durham sources include prayers, but only Harley 4664 has them for the office; the other two only list prayers in the mass, since their offices are purely musical. The mass prayers in Dijon 657 and Trinity O.3.55 both contain Collect A, which is shared with the missals of Westminster and York.¹¹² The remaining two prayers, however, are unknown:

secreta.

Benedictio tua domine *quesumus* larga descendat, que *et* munera nostra deprecante sancto oswaldo tibi reddat accepta, *et* nobis sacramentum redemptionis efficiat. *Per dominum.*

post communio.

Supplices te rogamus domine deus noster, ut quos celestibus donis saciasti. intercedente beato oswaldo martire tuo perpetua protectione custodias. *Per dominum.*¹¹³

Harley 4664 not only gives office prayers, but it provides them throughout the office, either in incipit or in full. At matins the prayer is given as either Collect A or Collect B. The prayer is only given in incipit, ‘*Omnipotens sempiterne,*’ which is how

¹¹¹ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 152-62 *passim*.

¹¹² See Table 36 for a list of prayers and their associations with different English customs. The contents of the table are discussed over the next pages.

¹¹³ Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.55, fol. 60r, and Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 657, fol. 46v. The transcription is taken from Trinity O.3.55 and follows its abbreviations.

Table 35. Matins lessons for the Oswald office in Scandinavian fragments and English manuscripts

	Br 260	Br 746	Leo 25	F.m. III.29	BL Harley 4664	OBL Laud. misc. 299
Lessons	(6 lessons?)	(3 lessons)	(3 lessons)*	(3 lessons)	(8 lessons)	(3 lessons)
1 (1)	[lost]	Ch. 9abc (§1-10) <i>Oswald's death,</i> <i>nature & power of spot,</i>	Ch. 9ab (§1-6) <i>Oswald's death,</i> <i>holy nature of spot</i>	Ch. 2ab <i>Oswald's cross</i>	Ch. 1ab <i>history of kingdom</i>	Ch. 9ab <i>Oswald's death,</i> <i>holy nature of spot</i>
(2)	[lost]				Ch. 1c, 2ab (first sentence) <i>Battle of Denisesburn,</i> <i>Cross at Heavenfield</i>	
2 (3)	[lost]	Ch. 9cd (§11-15) <i>miracle: horse & girl</i>	Ch. 9bc (§8-14) <i>fame of the spot,</i> <i>miracle: horse</i>	Ch. 2c - Ch. 3	(Lessons 3-8 <i>continue with</i> <i>Ch. 2ab, one</i> <i>sentence per lesson)</i> ...	Ch. 9cd <i>miracle: horse & girl</i>
(4)	[lost]					
3 (5)	[lost]	Ch. 10 - Ch. 11a (§1-8) <i>miracle: fire,</i> <i>miracle: relics</i>	Ch. 9d - 10a (§1-5) <i>miracle: girl</i> <i>miracle: fire</i>	Ch. 3, 6, 9b, 11a	...	Ch. 10a <i>miracle: fire</i>
(6)	Ch. 12bc, 13b <i>proverb,</i> <i>concluding comments</i>				...	

*The three lessons from Leo 25 were later divided into six lessons. See Table 34.

both Collect A and B begin, and both are present elsewhere in the office.¹¹⁴ Collect A follows the chapters at lauds and terce, and Collect B follows the chapter at nones. Two prayers in Harley 4664 are unknown, at first vespers and at sext:

[ad vespertas] oratio.

Adesto *domine* supplicationibus *nostris* ut qui ex iniquitate *nostra* reos nos esse cognoscimus beati oswaldi regis *et* martyris tui intercessionem liberemur; *Per.*

ad vi. oratio.

Omnipotens et misericors deus qui nobis preclaram huius diei leticiam *pro* beati oswaldi regis *et* martyris tui sollempnitate tribuisti intende serenius vota fidelis *populi*; colimus. eius semper *meritis et precibus* subleuemur. *per.*¹¹⁵

Of the Peterborough manuscripts, only Bodleian Ms. Gough Liturg. 17 has a prayer listed, and this is Collect A.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Collect A appears to have been fairly standard as the office prayer for Oswald, as it is also used for the short, common office in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 299, fol. 384r, from the diocese of Canterbury. Interestingly, the Processional of York, from St Oswald's Parish church at Methley in Yorkshire (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 126), includes a procession for Oswald that pulls from the English office and gives a prayer (Collect B):

De sancto loci vel de omnibus sanctis dicitur autem de sancto oswaldo

Septinger [sic] oswalde celo terra *que* sacrate transmare germanis gallis fulgas ab anglis et *quecumque* tam gens proscit opem subit amplam rex bone *proprium* nobis regem pete regum. V Posuisti *domine* super caput eius.

Oratio

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui donasti beato oswaldo regi gloriam terrene potestatis in *diuinum* conuertere amorem; da nobis eius *uirtutis et* intercessionem in tui nominis amore iugiter permanere. *Per christum.*¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4664, fol. 250r.

¹¹⁵ London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4664, fols. 248v and 250r.

¹¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gough Liturg. 17, fol. 228r.

¹¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 126, fol. 3v.

Sceptriger oswalde is the Magnificat antiphon for first vespers in the English office. Collect B is found in the Oswald mass of a fourteenth-century missal from Guisborough priory in northern Yorkshire (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 35285), but not the York Missal, which used Collect A.¹¹⁸

Among office sources in Scandinavia, Collect A shows up frequently, and is by far the prayer most commonly used. Collect C, of unknown origin, also occurs in two sources: Br 1284 (Fr 23677, s. XII, preserved in the Västmanland accounts of 1539) and the *Breviarium Lundense*, printed in 1517 when Lund was still a Danish city.¹¹⁹ One office source, Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Frag. 7393-4 (s. XV), provides Collect E, which appears elsewhere only in the printed Hamburg breviary of 1493 (London, British Library, I. A. 1420). The only office source found by Toy which contains more than one prayer is Uppsala, University Library, C517c (s. XV), which gives Collect A at first vespers and Collect F at matins; Collect F was used in the Sarum missal and in Hereford.¹²⁰ Table 36 lists the total number of sources preserving each collect.

From the table it is clear that the most prominent collect is the one transmitted from non-Sarum English sources, Collect A, dating back to the twelfth century, and used in both Sweden and Denmark. The collect used in late medieval Hamburg is only found in one Danish source. As for Collect C, Toy suggested that it may have been transmitted as an item in the mass from a currently unknown German tradition, though this is necessarily speculative since it has not been identified elsewhere.¹²¹ Here in the office it is present in two sources, one held in central Sweden and one in a late medieval Danish diocese (Lund), located at the southern end of the Swedish mainland. The Swedish source is also quite old for an Oswald office, dating to the twelfth century,

¹¹⁸ See Table 36. The processional is edited in a facsimile edition with an introduction by David Hiley, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 126 (the York processional)* (1998).

¹¹⁹ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 155.

¹²⁰ *Idem*, 153.

¹²¹ John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 153-155, esp. 155. In fact, in the Scandinavian masses there is a full set of three prayers, which Toy has termed Collect C, Secret C and Postcommunion C, which tend to travel together and which are not found in any of the English comparative sources, or in the Hamburg missal.

Table 36. Collect prayers in Scandinavian offices for St Oswald

Collect A (Westminster, York) ¹²²	Date in Toy (2009)	ID in Toy (2009)
MPO, Br 218 (Fr 31090)	s. XII	S35
Copenhagen, RA, Frag. 5841	s. XII-XIII	C01
MPO, Br 746 (Fr 22957)	c. 1200	S87
<i>Breviarium Roskildense</i>	1517	BRosk
<i>Breviarium Othoniense</i>	1497	BOtho
Collect B (Wells? s. xi, Guisborough s. xiii) ¹²³		
no sources		
Collect C (Unknown)	Date in Toy (2009)	ID in Toy (2009)
MPO, Br 1284 (Fr 23677)	s. XII	S97
<i>Breviarium Lundense</i>	1517	BLund
Collect E (Hamburg) ¹²⁴	Date in Toy (2009)	ID in Toy (2009)
Copenhagen, RA, Frag. 7393-4	s. XV	C03
Collect F (Sarum, Hereford) ¹²⁵	Date in Toy (2009)	ID in Toy (2009)
Uppsala, UL, C517c (+ Coll. A)	s. XV	U15

Manuscripts, dates and comparative sources are taken from John Toy, *English saints in the medieval liturgies of Scandinavian churches* (2009), 152-53 and 155-62.

perhaps even contemporaneous with the English and Flemish offices, although the fragment contains no proper material; in fact, neither the Lund breviary nor Br 1284 contain any material for the office beyond Collect C itself, suggesting that the ‘Collect C’ tradition may have been transmitted in the form of a mass only, with no proper office.

3.2.5 The English proper office in Scandinavian sources

As stated previously, the only Scandinavian source to provide a proper office for Oswald is Helsinki, F.m. III.29. The fragment survived into the nineteenth century as the wrapper for an unidentified set of Finnish provincial accounts made in 1579, after

¹²² Taken from John Wickham Legg, ed., *Westminster Missal* (1891-97); W. G. Henderson, ed., *York Missal* (1874); and S. W. Lawley, ed., *York Printed Breviary 1493* (1880-83).

¹²³ Taken from British Library, Ms. Cotton Vitellius A.xviii; London, British Library, Ms. Add. 35285.

¹²⁴ Taken from London, British Library, I. A. 1420.

¹²⁵ Taken from John Wickham Legg, ed., *Sarum Missal* (1916); W. G. Henderson, ed., *Hereford Missal* (1874).

which it was removed and stored by itself with the other medieval fragments in Finland. The Oswald office that is presented in F.m. III.29 is unequivocally inherited from the English office, but it is reduced in form to first vespers, a short matins of three lessons, lauds and second vespers; the folio fragment begins in the middle of the first vespers responsory and ends in the middle of the first antiphon for second vespers, so it is unknown whether those hours were provided in full or in short forms, or if any rubrics for the octave were present. In contrast to this, both the Durham and Peterborough versions of the office are quite detailed. Both provide full offices for each of the hours, with only a few exceptions. All three manuscripts associated with Durham provide only a short first vespers with one antiphon *De regno terre*, while both Peterborough manuscripts provide four, adding *O martyr et rex*, *Gloriose rex oswalde*, and *Sol oriens*.¹²⁶ At the other end of the office, at second vespers, the Durham version seems more complete: the Peterborough source Magdalene F.4.10 calls for only three antiphons—none of them named, but instead to be taken from the common of martyrs—whereas the other sources, including the other Peterborough source Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gough liturg. 17, provide a full set of four antiphons drawn from earlier in the office.¹²⁷ Additionally, the observance of the octave seems to have had a lesser status in the Durham sources: Dijon 657 has no rubrics for its observance, and Harley 4664 provides only a short rubric for celebrating the Sunday that falls within the octave of Oswald's feast; Trinity O.3.55 is a fragmentary source and may or may not have had any rubrics. By contrast, Magdalene F.4.10 includes detailed rubrics for ferial days

¹²⁶ The chant *Sol oriens* was likely an importation of the continental version of the office (David Hiley's 'Flemish' office); cf. page 190, n. 150. The chant is also known to other feasts for northern royal saints. It is featured in the composed office for St King Canute, for example: Roman Hankeln, 'Kingship and sanctity in the *Historia* in honour of St Canutus Rex' (2015), 182. Overall, Hankeln regards the musical style of St Canute's office to be similar to the English offices of St Edmund and St Oswald, and places all three in the late eleventh century—contrary to David Hiley, 'The office chants of St Oswald' (2009), *passim*, who has placed it perhaps more conservatively to the twelfth century.

¹²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gough Liturg. 17, fol. 228v. In this manuscript the antiphons provided are *Rex quatuor gentium*, *Cumque sederet*, *In signo dominice* and *Inter cetera de huius crucis*, all of which come from earlier in the office; however, Ms. Gough liturg. 17 has a condensed office overall, and the locations where these chants would usually be placed are not provided in the manuscript. The result is that in Ms. Gough Liturg. 17 these four chants appear as items unique to second vespers.

within the octave and the octave itself, but not the Sunday within the octave. This simultaneous promotion of St Oswald's feast through the octave, coupled with a general demotion of his feast on Sundays within the Octave, seems to have been a feature of Peterborough: the rubrics in the other source from that abbey, Ms. Gough liturg. 17, indicate that if Oswald's feast were to fall on a Saturday, then he would not be commemorated at all on the following Sunday.¹²⁸ The surviving portion of Helsinki F.m. III.29 contains no rubrics indicating one practice or the other, but as it is already a rather short office, it is unlikely that there would have been any extensive rubrication of this sort.

The Oswald office in Helsinki F.m. III.29 is presented below in Table 37, with the offices of Durham and Peterborough beside it for comparison. Two features in particular stand out. The first is that the matins material used in Helsinki F.m. III.29 comes from the first two nocturns, ignoring the third nocturn entirely with one exception, the responsory *O regem et martyrem*, which is otherwise presented uniquely in Magdalene F.4.10 as a redundant fifth responsory for the third nocturn (a transcription of the office's organization in Magdalene F.4.10 is given in Table 38). The focus on material from the first two nocturns is not entirely unexpected: the office in Magdalene F.4.10 does something similar in its rubrics for the octave of the feast, with a shorter matins that focuses on material from the first nocturn. Moreover, with the exception of Magdalene F.4.10 all English sources transmitting a proper second vespers borrow their chants primarily from the first nocturn of matins (Magdalene F.4.10 takes its from the common of single martyrs).

However, the manner in which Helsinki F.m. III.29 truncates matins is wholly different from that of other sources. The rubrics in Magdalene F.4.10 provide rearrangements to the office both within and on the octave, and while most of the changes involve a general compressing of matins to have only enough material that

¹²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Gough Liturg. 17, fol. 227v: 'Si hoc festum per sabbatum contra fiet commemoratio nulla de dominica.' The rubric that begins the office on fol. 227r, however, promotes his commemoration generally during the day hours and at second vespers (although not necessarily throughout the Octave), and also seems to indicate an expansion of the performance of his mass if his feast fell on a Sunday, by adding a second verse to the communion chant: 'Si per dominicam contra fiet (communio?) de unientibus ad (vtrosque versos?). Ad horas et secundas vespas sicut pluriorum martyrum Et commemoratio de sancto oswaldo.'

**Table 37. Comparison of chant items in Harley 4664,
Magdalene F.4.10 and F.m.III.29**

('Durham') Harley 4664 Trinity O.3.55 Dijon 657	('Peterborough') Magdalene F.4.10 and Gough liturg. 17	Helsinki F.m.III.29
<u>In primis vespere</u>		
Ant.	O martyr et rex inclite	
Ant.	Gloriose rex oswalde	
Ant.	Sol oriens	
Ant.	De regno terre	(... <i>fragment lost</i>)
Resp.	Rege deo regum V. Dextra fouens	Rege deo regum V. Dextra nouens
Ad cant.	Sceptringer oswalde	Sceptringer oswalde (<i>added in margin by later hand</i>)
<u>Ad matutinas</u>		
Invit.	Martyrii palmam	Martyrum palmam
Hymn.	Regalis ostro	
<u>In primo nocturno</u>		
Ant.	Rex quatuor gencium	Rex quatuor gencium
Ant.	Cumque sederet	Cumque sederet
Ant.	In signo dominice crucis	In signo dominice crucis
Ant.	Inter cetera de huius	(<i>used as Lesson 2 §1</i>)
Ant.	Erat inclitus rex	(<i>used as Lesson 2 §2</i>)
Ant.	Assumpsit sibi pontificem	(<i>used as Lesson 2 §3</i>)
Resp.	Rex sacer oswaldus V. Ut constantinus	(<i>used as Lesson 1 §1</i>)
Resp.	Hec crux osuualdi V. Hec erat exemplum	(<i>used as Lesson 1 §2</i>)
Resp.	Per crucis huius V. Oswaldi regis meritum	(<i>used as Lesson 1 §3</i>)
Resp.	Oswaldus christi deuotus V. Nascentemque fidem	O regem et martyrem V. Inter martyrii rex (<i>Oswaldus christi is used as Lesson 3 §1</i>)
<u>In secundo nocturno</u>		
Ant.	Sic beatus oswaldus	(<i>used as Lesson 3 §4</i>)
Ant.	Rex principum confrater	(<i>used as Lesson 3 §5</i>)
Ant.	Hunc martyrio sumptum	(<i>used as Lesson 3 §6</i>)

Table 37 (continued). Chant items in Harley 4664, Magdalene F.4.10 and F.m.III.29

('Durham')	('Peterborough')	Helsinki F.m.III.29
Ant. In loco regis	In loco regis	<i>(used as Lesson 3 §7)</i>
Ant. Super sancti reliquias	Super sancti reliquias	<i>(used as Lesson 3 §8)</i>
Ant. De ligno qui coronandum	De ligno qui coronandum	<i>(used as Lesson 3 §9)</i>
Resp. Pontificem sanctum sumpsit V. Dulce fuit regem	Pontificem sanctum sumpsit V. Dulce fuit regem	<i>(used as Lesson 3 §2)</i>
Resp. Regnorum rector V. Hanc incorruptam	Regnorum rector V. Hanc incorruptam	<i>(used as Lesson 3 §3)</i>
Resp. Rex anime fortis V. Integra carne sua	Rex anime fortis V. Integra carne sua	Rex animo fortis V. Integra carne sua
Resp. Inclitus oswaldus V. Commendans secum	Inclitus oswaldus V. Commendans secum	Inclitus oswaldus V. Commendans secum
<u>In tertio nocturno</u>		
Ad cant. De regno terre	De regno terre	
Resp. O felicem locum V. Oblatus est	O felicem locum V. Oblatus est	
Resp. Pulus sacer V. Omni consumpta	Uulnis sacer V. Omni consumpta	
Resp. Sub diuo relicto V. Omnis quoque adiacens	Ad expugnandum V. Milibus armatum <i>(In feriis: Sub diuo</i> <i>V. Omnis quoque)</i>	
Resp. Quam precelsa sunt V. Regis pro regno	Pasche die rex V. Numquam marcescat	
<i>(In octavam: O regem</i> <i>V. Inter martyres)</i>		
<u>In laudes</u>		
Ant. Rex oswaldus clarus	Rex oswaldus clarus	Rex oswaldus clarus
Ant. Viuat aydanus	Uiuat aydanus	Uiuat aidanus
Ant. Sic organum spiritus	Sic organum spiritus	Sic organum spiritus
Ant. Qualis enim abscisa	Qualis enim abscisa	Qualis enim excisa
Ant. Non perdidisti rex	Non perdidisti rex	Non perdidisti rex
Ant. Non perdidisti rex	Non perdidisti rex	Non perdidisti rex
Resp. Sancte oswalde	Stolam iocunditatis	
Hymn. <i>Christi fidelis</i>	<i>Deus tuorum militum</i>	
Ad cant. Miserere domine animabus	Miserere domine animabus	Miserere domine animabus

Table 37 (continued). Chant items in Harley 4664, Magdalene F.4.10 and F.m.III.29

('Durham')	('Peterborough')	Helsinki F.m.III.29
<u>In diurnis</u>		
Prime Ant. <i>Rex oswaldus</i>	<i>Rex oswaldus</i>	
Terce Ant. <i>Viuat aydanus</i>	<i>Gloriose rex osuualde</i>	
Sext Ant. <i>Sic organum</i>	<i>Sic organum</i>	
None Ant. <i>Non perdidisti</i>	<i>Rex quatuor gencium</i> (<i>Gough lit. 17: Non perdidisti</i>)	
<u>Ad vespervas</u>		
Ant. <i>Rex quatuor</i>	('3 antiphons from common of one martyr') (<i>Gough lit. 17: Rex quatuor</i>)	Martyris(?) oswaldi festiua
Ant. <i>Cumque sederet</i>	('3 antiphons from common of one martyr') (<i>Gough lit. 17: Cunque sederet</i>)	(fragment lost...)
Ant. <i>In signo</i>	('3 antiphons from common of one martyr') (<i>Gough lit. 17: In signo</i>)	
Ant. <i>Inter cetera</i>	(Gough lit. 17: <i>Inter cetera</i>)	
Resp. <i>Quam precelsa</i>	<i>Rex anime fortis</i>	
Hymn. <i>Regalis ostro</i>	<i>Deus tuorum militum</i>	
Ad cant. <i>Gloriose rex oswalde</i>	<i>Sol oriens</i>	

would otherwise fit into a single nocturn (i.e., six or fewer antiphons and four or fewer responsories), the chants of these short offices are typically drawn from throughout the office as a whole.

During the weekdays within the octave, the first nocturn responsory *Cernens demum*, which was imported from the Flemish office, was to be replaced with *Oswaldus christi*, a chant original to the English office.¹²⁹ At the octave matins is populated with

¹²⁹ See Table 39 and the discussion below. For the details and evidence of how the Flemish office influenced Magdalene F.4.10, see David Hiley, 'The office chants of St Oswald' (2009), 248-52.

Table 38. Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. F.4.10, fol. 261v, directions for celebrating the office for St Oswald throughout the octave

<p>[fol. 259r-v] [ad matutinas, in primo nocturno] ... R. Rex sacer osuualdus V. Ut constantinus R. Hec crux osuualdi V. Hec erat exemplum R. Per crucis V. Osuualdi regis. Gloria patri. In festo et in octauae diem quartum responsorium. R. Cernens demum V. Lucra renascentis. Gloria patri. Ferili responsorium. R. Osuualdus christi V. Nascentemque. Gloria patri.</p>	<p>[fol. 261v] In octaua sancti Osuualdi Ad uesperas primas vna cum antiphone super psalmos. A. Rex quatuor psalmi unius martyris. R. Ad expugnandum H. Deus tuorum V. Ora pro nobis In euuangelio A. Scep trigger</p>
<p>[fol. 260v-61v] [in tertio nocturno] Ad cantica A. De regno terre R. O felicem locum V. Oblatus est enim. Gloria p. R. Uulnis sacer de V. Omni consumpta domo In festo et in octaua vndecimum responsorium. R. Ad expugnandum V. Milibus armatum. Gloria p. Aliis diebus cantabitur hoc responsorium per ordinem. R. Sub diuo relicto V. Omnis quoque adiacens In festo et octaua duodecimum responsorium. R. Pasche die rex V. Numquam marcescat. Gloria p. Infra octabam cantabitur per ordinem hoc responsorium. R. O regem V. Inter martyres rex. Gloria p.</p>	<p>[ad matutinas] Inuitatorium, ymnus, antiphone, psalmi vt supra. responsorium in primo nocturno ut supra quartum responsorium. R. Cernens demum Octauum responsorium. R. Ad expugnandum Undecimum responsorium. R. Sub diuo Duodecimum responsorium. R. Pasche die Ad horas antiphone de laudibus ut supra. In diem ad teriam ad nonam cantabitur. A. De regno terre Ad uesperas. A. Rex quatuor gencium Et tertium antiphona et in festo alio. R. Rex anime fortis In euuangelio. A. Sol oriens</p>

Table 39. Matins Responsories for the English Office of St Oswald

Nocturn	Responsory		Theme	Mode	Poetry
First Nocturn	R1	<i>Rex sacer oswaldus</i>	cross	1	leon. hexameter
	R2	<i>Hec crux oswaldi</i>	cross	2	leon. hexameter
	R3	<i>Per crucis huius opem</i>	cross	3	leon. hexameter
	R4	<i>Oswaldus christi deuotus</i>	rule	4	leon. hexameter
Second Nocturn	R5	<i>Pontificem sanctum</i>	rule	5	leon. hexameter
	R6	<i>Regnorum rector</i>	rule	6 (in C)	leon. hexameter
	R7	<i>Rex anime fortis</i>	death	7	leon. hexameter
	R8	<i>Inclitus oswaldus</i>	death	8	leon. hexameter
Third Nocturn	R9	<i>O felicem locum</i>	death	1	rhymed prose
	R10	<i>Pulvis sacer</i>	miracles	2	rhymed prose
	R11	<i>Sub diuo relicto</i>	miracles	3	rhymed prose
	R12	<i>Quam precelsa</i>	miracles	8 (in C)	rhymed prose
<i>Items Specific to Magdalene F.4.10...</i>					
First Nocturn	R4	<i>Cernens demum</i>	victory	5	rhymed prose
Third Nocturn	R11	<i>Ad expugnandum</i>	death	6 (in C)	leon. hexameter
	R12	<i>Pasche die rex</i>	rule	2	leon. hexameter
	R12	<i>O regem et martyrem</i>	death	4	rhymed prose

responsories from the third nocturn. Conversely, throughout the main feast as well as the octave several chants from the first nocturn—*Rex quatuor*, *Cernens demum*, and *Rex anime fortis*—are used in the little hours and during other hours within the octave, whereas during the feast itself many of these items are drawn from first vespers. In contrast, Helsinki F.m. III.29 uses no third nocturn chants except for *O regem et martyrem*, whose only other known source is Magdalene F.4.10, where it used for ferial days within the octave. There is not even a proper antiphon for the canticle.

The second observation is that the selection of chants conforms neither to the Durham nor the Peterborough sources. The connection to Peterborough appears somewhat stronger because of the presence of *O regem et martyrem*, but this does not necessarily prove close affiliation to Peterborough.¹³⁰ Otherwise, the places of key difference between Durham and Peterborough are not present in Helsinki F.m. III.29, either because the fragment's office skips over those sections or because they unfortunately lie outside of the surviving folios of the fragment. Moreover, the

¹³⁰ The presence of *O regem et martyrem* in Magdalene F.4.10 and Helsinki F.m. III.29 has significant implications on the chronological ordering of the Durham, Peterborough and 'Helsinki fragment' offices; see Chapter 3.2.6.

Magnificat antiphon *Sceptringer oswalde* was not originally transmitted in the Helsinki fragment's office. *Sceptringer oswalde* is the defining feature to all other sources of the English office, and is even transmitted in the York Processional along with Collect B as the sole items for Oswald's feast.¹³¹ The antiphon does appear in Helsinki F.m. III.29 fol. 1r, but as a later addition in the outer margin of the folio, next to the second lesson of matins.¹³²

In addition to this, there is a peculiar chant at second vespers in the Helsinki fragment that does not appear in any sources of the English or Flemish offices.¹³³ The folio carries some water damage and acidic corrosion from the green ink used for large initials, making it difficult to make out all of the text and music, but enough is legible to demonstrate the chant is entirely unrelated in music or text to any of the previously known Oswald chants:

M[artyris?]¹³⁴ oswaldi festiua laude colendi [spiritus?]¹³⁵ astra
subit, qui carnea uincula [— —]¹³⁶ quam dulci cantu multi hin[c?
...folio ends]¹³⁷

¹³¹ David Hiley, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Mus. 126 (the York processional)* (1998), fol. 3v.

¹³² The antiphon was clearly intended to be inserted into its normal place in first vespers, since it includes the incipit for the Magnificat at the end.

¹³³ Helsinki, F.m. III.29, fol. 1v.

¹³⁴ Only the large initial is legible. More than one option is available for guessing what the original text was, since there are four separate neumes in the opening phrase. The phrase 'Martyris Oswaldi' seems most likely to me, on account of it being used throughout both versions of the Oswald office, and this is how the chant is rendered here. Other constructions are technically possible, however, such as 'Magni regis Oswaldi', which would fit one syllable per neume exactly.

¹³⁵ The word is faded almost to invisibility, but according to the neumes there must have been three syllables. 'Spiritus' or another word of the same general meaning seems to be the best estimation, based on the context of the clause 'The [missing word] of the martyr Oswald, worthy of reverence, goes up to the stars with festive praise.' There is a wider precedent for the phrase as well, as Godfrey of Winchester used it in his epigram on Thomas of Canterbury: 'Thomas praesul obit, petit alta, nec ima relinquit, dum corpus tumulum, spiritus astra subit.' Thomas Wright, *The Anglo-Latin satirical poets and epigrammatists of the twelfth century*, vol. 2 (1872), 154-55. I am again grateful to Helen Deeming for introducing this text to me.

¹³⁶ The syllables for these three neumes are illegible.

¹³⁷ See Figure 21 for a musical transcription of the chant.

Figure 21. Transcription of *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua* in Helsinki, F.m. III.29

M[artyris?] oswaldi festiua

Helsinki, F.m.III.29, fol. 1v

M[ar - ty - ris os - wal - di fes - ti - ua lau - de co - len - di

[? - ? - ?] as - tra su - bit qui car - ne - a uin - cu - la

[? - ? - ?] qui - am dul - ci can - tu mul - ti hin[c?] [fragment ends]

The text, or what can be made of it, is unusual for St Oswald. It does not seem to draw any inspiration from Bede's prose or Oswald's biography, nor does it seem appropriate as generalized laudations. The phrasing of '*spiritus astra subit*' can perhaps be explained as a generic phrase that parallels Bede's phrasing of '*translato [ergo] ad caelestia regna*' for Oswald's holy death, but the resemblance is distant and ends there.¹³⁸ The reference to '*carnea uincula*', or the 'fleshly chains', may be a reference to his desire for a heavenly kingdom and his release from the temporal world in martyrdom, but in other literature the phrase appears to have specific associations with physical intimacy and erotic love, qualities entirely out of place with Oswald.¹³⁹ One of Oswald's *Vitae*, by Reginald of Coldingham, does mention his marriage and a son, but as a perfunctory aside with no bearing on the major themes of the narrative.¹⁴⁰ Reginald capitalized on the passing note of Oswald's marriage to Kyneburga by adding emphasis

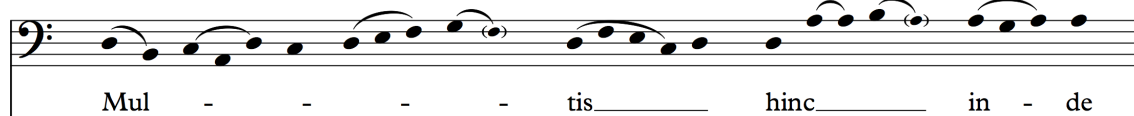
¹³⁸ Bede, *HE* III.14.

¹³⁹ A contemporary example is from Bernand of Cluny, who used the phrase as part of a poem that treated Venus as an allegorical model for romantic attraction, in his *De contemptu mundi*, Book 3: '*Secula culminis hinc amor, inguinis inde sagittat; Stat Venus ignea, nemoque carnea vincula vitat.*' Thomas Wright, ed., *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* (2012), 79.

¹⁴⁰ Victoria Tudor, 'Reginald's *Life of St Oswald*' (1995), 187.

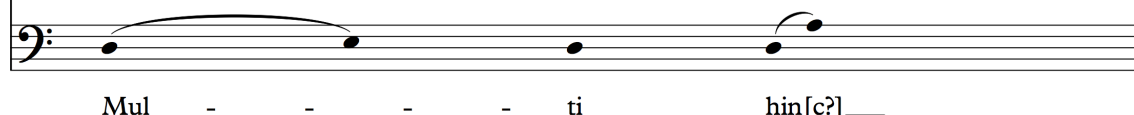
Figure 22. Comparison of the text phrase 'multi/multis hinc' in the St Afra antiphon *Multis hinc inde sermonum* and the King Oswald(?) antiphon *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua*

'*Multis hinc inde*' (Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift-Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, fol. 37r)



Mul - - - - tis hinc in - de

'*M[artyris] oswaldi festiua*' (Helsinki, National Library, F.m. III.29, fol. 1v)



Mul - - - - ti hin[c?] ____

on his chastity after the birth of their son, as well as the continued chastity of Kyneburga after his martyrdom. However, the brief passage can be seen as an attempt to rationalize the standard theme of chastity to a saint who happened to be a king and married father, and even here does not paint Oswald as an ascetic saint.¹⁴¹ Moreover, the theme of the *carnea vincula* is not present in Reginald's work: Oswald's chastity is self-imposed and willing; he has no fleshly shackles from which to be freed. In a similar vein, no *Vitae* or Passions of Oswald mention the *dulcis cantus* that is referenced in the second line of the chant.

These strange thematic choices might be explained obliquely by looking at other saints near Oswald's feast in the calendar. Sharing the same 5 August feast day as St Oswald is St Afra, who was also venerated in the same south German regions and can also be found in liturgical fragments from Sweden. St Afra was a converted prostitute, providing a resonant connection to the *carnea vincula*. There do not appear to be any chants for St Afra textually or musically related to *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua*, although

¹⁴¹ Sarah Bowden, *Bridal-quest epics in medieval Germany: A revisionary approach* (2012), 107-113, esp. 107-109. Several German Oswald epics, such as the *Münchner Oswald*, repeat Reginald's themes of chastity, and are roughly contemporaneous with Helsinki F.m.III.20; however, these stories quite clearly follow in the tradition of German court epics rather than saints' *Vitae*, and thus can likely be dismissed as primary source material for his office.

there is a third-nocturn responsory for her, *Multis hinc inde sermonum*, whose incipit text mirrors the *multi hinc* that connects the Oswald chant to its final unknown clause, and whose music at those words comprises the same melodic range at *multi/multis* and the same D-A leap at *hinc*.¹⁴² This is the only point of commonality between *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua* and any St Afra chants—the two are even in different modes (mode 1 for *Multis hinc inde sermonum*, and what appears to be presented as mode 4 in the surviving portion of *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua*), and have no other melodic figures strikingly in common even through transposition—and so it can be discarded as most likely nothing more than a (very) distant surface similarity.

In the common offices for Oswald it has already been shown that he was regularly commemorated along with other saints who shared the same feast day, and even in Magdalene F.4.10 there are rubrics suggesting the same. It is possible, but highly unlikely, that *M[artyris] oswaldi festiua* was actually a chant for St Afra's office in the exemplar source and then mistaken to be a chant for Oswald; to have done so, the scribe would have had to be seriously negligent in his copying, or completely unfamiliar with the two offices and how they were ordered in the exemplar. The most likely solutions, then, are that the chant was originally for Oswald, or perhaps consciously adapted to Oswald from the chant of another saint (possibly Afra based on the textual content, but many others might do just as well) in spite of the text appearing to be uncharacteristic of him.

3.2.6 The Composition of the English proper office

Helsinki F.m. III.29 can provide some new information on the stages of composition of the English Oswald office. Previously, hypotheses on the office's layers of composition have been made based on the arrangement of musical modes among the chants, and the poetic construction of the chant texts.¹⁴³ The evidence in Helsinki F.m. III.29 allows this same information to be organized in different ways, showing connections between the chants that would not otherwise be present in the arrangements from Durham and Peterborough.

¹⁴² CANTUS 7189. See Figure 22.

¹⁴³ David Hiley, 'The office chants of St Oswald' (2009), 248-56 *passim*, and (now outdated, due to a wider pool of sources) Andrew Hughes, 'The monarch as object of liturgical veneration' (1993), 386 and 399-401.

There are compositional divisions in the English office between the first two nocturns and the third nocturn. The responsories of the first two are all in leonine hexameter, while the third nocturn responsories move into rhymed prose.¹⁴⁴ There are other English twelfth-century *historiae*—newly composed or compiled offices for saints that draw largely from their respective *Vitae*—that also use this basic structural division of narrative themes. The office for St Mildred found in London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3908, for example, maintains a strong thematic division between the second and third nocturns. The first two nocturns contain lessons and chants that explain Mildred's royal descent, expound upon her many tribulations and praise the miracles that occurred around her—in other words, themes from her earthly life—while the third nocturn is reserved for texts that reflect on her death, posthumous miracles and sainthood; likewise, the office opens with 'generalized praise' during first vespers and continues with a longer list of posthumous miracles during lauds.¹⁴⁵

However, the thematic organization of the English Oswald office are not grouped by nocturn. Rather, the responsories are grouped in threes, arranged in the same narrative order that is found in Bede's biography of Oswald: first is Oswald's cross (before and after his death), followed by his Christian rule, then his martyrdom and finally his posthumous miracles. Because the responsories are grouped in threes, the thematic contents straddle the beginnings and endings of the three nocturns—each of which have four responsories—with awkward divisions.

The divisions of poetry suggest that the last four responsories were composed separately, while the themes within the texts suggest that they were composed at least in groups of three (responsories 1-3, 4-6 and 7-9). Responsories 7-9, which deal with Oswald's death, straddles the divide between leonine hexameter and rhymed prose, suggesting that these may not have been composed together as a single group. The arrangement of the modes is unhelpful in determining which responsories were composed together: once progression of modes was established, any new responsory would simply have been written according to the next mode in the sequence. However, the sequence does at least suggest that the melodies for each responsory were written at the same time or before any responsories that came after it, especially because the thematic material is strictly organized throughout. With this in mind, it could be argued

¹⁴⁴ David Hiley, 'The office chants of St Oswald' (2009), 249.

¹⁴⁵ John Caldwell, 'Life, legend and liturgy: The case of St Mildred' (2015), 280-81.

that, for example, *Per crucis huius opem* was most likely composed with or before *Oswaldus christi deuotus*, since new chants had to be composed in modal sequence.

The Peterborough sources interrupt some of these patterns by substituting a number of chants, mostly from the Flemish office.¹⁴⁶ David Hiley has shown that the parallel chants were almost certainly composed for the Flemish office and then transmitted later into the (older) English office at Peterborough.¹⁴⁷ The final responsory substitution that occurs in the Peterborough sources, *O regem et martyrem*, appears to be unique to the Peterborough office, as it is not found in the Durham or the Flemish sources, but in fact has now been determined to exist elsewhere, in the unusually shortened Oswald office found in Helsinki F.m. III.29.¹⁴⁸ At Peterborough this chant was placed as an additional twelfth responsory to be used during the octave, but in the Helsinki fragment it appears elsewhere, as the first of three responsory chants used for the whole office. The connection is significant, since F.m. III.29 otherwise only has chants from the Durham office, in the order of the Durham office. The possibility that *O regem et martyrem* was at one time generally part of the English office, in Durham as well as Peterborough, only to be removed from the Durham version later in favour of other chants, is a tantalizing one. For example, by replacing *Quam precelsa* with *O regem et martyrem* in the third nocturn, the office in Magdalene F.4.10 alters the modal ordering of the responsories to be more consistent while still retaining the same poetic structure: the responsory modes now move from 1 to 4 instead of 1 to 3 with a jump to 8, thus removing the office's only deviation of modal sequence in the responsories. However, the thematic material of *O regem et martyrem* is not in keeping with the theme of Oswald's miracles, but rather an exposition on his martyrdom and ascent into sainthood; if it were part of the original layer of the third nocturn, issues such as the mixing of themes may be some indication of why at Durham another chant was used.

Aside from *O regem et martyrem* and two others (*Rex animo fortis* and *Inclitus oswaldus*), all of the matins responsory texts found in Helsinki F.m. III.29 are used not as responsories, but as part of the lesson readings. They are grouped by their common themes along with a number of antiphons. The combination of chant texts into lessons

¹⁴⁶ See Table 39.

¹⁴⁷ David Hiley, 'The office chants for St Oswald' (2009), 253-56.

¹⁴⁸ Bodleian, Ms. Gough liturg. 17 does not present any third nocturn material, and so the chant survives from the Peterborough office only in Magdalene F.4.10. Of the Flemish sources, the chant is in neither Bergues Ms. 15 nor Fulda A.a. 56.

provides a first reading of three responsory texts in Leonine hexameter on Oswald's military victory and the cross (responsories 1-3); the second is a short reading of antiphon texts in free rhyming prose, continuing with the cross and moving into Oswald's kingship (antiphons 4-6 from the first nocturn); and the final reading is of the responsory group on Oswald's kingship, with six antiphons that complete the subject of his kingship, move on to his martyrdom and sainthood, and then to the miracles enacted in his name (responsories 4-6, and antiphons 1-6 of the second nocturn). This last reading begins in Leonine hexameter for the responsory texts but moves generally to free rhyming prose in the antiphons—however, *Rex principum confrater* and *De ligno qui coronandum*, the second and sixth antiphons respectively, are each in a Leonine verse that loosely fits into a hexameter scheme. The narrative flow of these chant texts moves smoothly through Oswald's biography, and forms alternating stanzas between Leonine hexameter and rhyming prose, with the last alternation grouped together into a single reading.

This arrangement should not be entirely dismissed as a peculiarity of Helsinki F.m. III.29's editor. The manuscript fragment could in fact be presenting an earlier form of the office, whose poetic texts were later divided up and turned into responsories and antiphons as seen in the Durham version of the office. Indeed, in the Durham office the narrative flow of the antiphons is more consistent than in the responsories: after two antiphons about Oswald's rule—*Rex quatuor gentium* and *Cumque sederet*—the first nocturn continues with a pair of antiphons going back to his victory at Denisesburn and miracles of Oswald's cross, then two more again about his years as king. In Helsinki F.m. III.29 this narrative back-and-forth is largely avoided. The last three texts make up the second lesson, creating an even narrative flow from Oswald's victory under the cross to his early accomplishments as king, and the first three antiphons, when paired with the responsory *O regem et martyrem* as the only chants of the matins office, have no need of creating narrative momentum. *Rex quatuor gentium*, *Cumque sederet*, *In signo dominice crucis* each provide a list of Oswald's saintly traits, which need not be presented in strict chronological order, and the responsory rounds off those themes by celebrating his ascension into heaven as a holy martyr:

‘Oswald, King of four nations and soldier of Christ, was most faithful. /

Though he sat as a king surrounded by an army, yet he was a
 comforter to the deserving. /
 In the sign of the Lord's cross he routed the monstrous horde,
 that cross which bestows the innumerable virtues of the
 meritorious king. /
 O Oswald, king and martyr of sublime merit, who today with the
 flag of the army of faith fought against the battle lines of the
 enemy and, aspersed in the blood of the Lord's army, snatched
 up the crown of martyrdom. /
 King and martyr, in noble triumph you are elevated amongst the
 martyrs.'¹⁴⁹

The arrangement also provides an interesting poetic mixture. Each of the three antiphons are in a different poetic construction—a loose Leonine hexameter, free prose and rhyming prose—while the responsory is in Leonine hexameter. The three antiphons and responsory also create a strict modal sequence of modes 1-4.

It is already known that the English office was probably not composed at a single time; the hour of first vespers appears to have been added later.¹⁵⁰ If certain hours of the office were composed before others, it is not an impossibility that those original hours themselves—matins and perhaps lauds—also went through stages of elaboration, first as a common office with composed readings, and later expanded into a short proper office as seen in Helsinki F.m. III.29 and finally a full office as seen in Durham and later Peterborough. The fragment is certainly amongst the oldest of the sources

¹⁴⁹ 'Rex quatuor [Harley: *quatuor*] gencium oswaldus *et christi miles erat fidissimus.*' / 'Cumque sederet quasi rex circumstante exercitu erat tamen merentius [Harley: *merencium*] consolator.' / 'In signo dominice crucis in manes capias [Harley: *copias*] fudit que crux regis meritis innumeras uirtute [Harley: *uirtutes*] attribuit' / 'O regem et martyrem oswaldum sublimis meriti qui hodie uexillo armatus fidei pugnavit contra acies inimici et cruore aspersus exercitus domini coronam suscepit martyrii. Inter martyris rex *et martyr triumpho sublimatis nobilli.*' Transcriptions taken from Helsinki F.m. III.29 and compared to London, British Library, Ms. Harley 4664.

¹⁵⁰ David Hiley, 'The office chants for St Oswald' (2009), 251. There are disagreements in the Durham sources over the inclusion of the antiphon *De regno terre*. Even without it, the Durham sources present a bare vespers office compared to Peterborough. The Peterborough sources, for example, treat *De regno terre* as standard, and Magdalene F.4.10 also provides a full list of antiphons, one of which was imported from the Flemish office, *Sol oriens*. Regardless of which chants are included, neither version provides the same methodical arrangement of musical modes that is found throughout matins.

transmitting a proper office for Oswald, either contemporaneous to or not much later than the oldest English source, Trinity O.3.55.¹⁵¹

3.2.7 Melodic variations in Helsinki F.m. III.29

All of the chants in Helsinki F.m. III.29 are largely parallel to those found in the other English sources.¹⁵² No single source has exactly the same reading of a chant as any other source, usually in regards to repetitions of single notes or the exact number of notes in an interval spanning a fifth or more. The vast majority of the liquescent neumes that occur in the other sources are not present in Helsinki F.m. III.29, which instead has a single virga or a standard two-note neume. Occasionally the fragment will feature an additional one to three notes, or an altered interval, but in these cases the melodic variation is present in at least one of the three other notated sources, or else the passage in question already features varied readings across most or all of the sources.

More tellingly, some of the chants in Helsinki F.m. III.29 have their melismas shortened or removed entirely: *Inclitus oswaldus* at 'miserere', *Miserere domine animabus* at 'clamabat' and the opening melisma for the verse of *O regem et martyrem* ('Inter martyris') all are truncated or absent.¹⁵³ However, this cannot not automatically be seen as a conscious effort to edit down the chants in Helsinki F.m. III.29. Not all of the melismas in Helsinki F.m. III.29 are shortened, and *O regem et martyrem* also has some passages that are more elaborate than in Magdalene F.4.10. The end of the verse is slightly extended (Figure 25, final system), giving it a more melismatic quality, and many syllables throughout the responsory are given extra or repeated notes: the melisma in the first system of Figure 25 at 'O regem'; the melisma in the second system at 'oswaldum'; the repetition of pitches in the fifth system at 'cruore'. These passage by

¹⁵¹ Susan Rankin, 'Trinity College, Ms. O. 3. 55', in *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700*, edited by Iain Fenlon (1982), 33 dates it to the second half of the twelfth century. Her study effectively supersedes M. R. James' earlier dating to the early twelfth century in *The Western manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 3 (1902), 24. Helsinki, F.m. III.29 has been dated variously to the same range, as well as the very early thirteenth century, as cited on *Fragmenta membranea* (<http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/649>, accessed 10 June, 2016).

¹⁵² The three other notated sources for the office are Trinity O.3.55 (Durham), Dijon 657 (Coldingham/Durham) and Magdalene F.4.10 (Peterborough). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. e Musaeo 126, fol. 3v (St Oswalds Church, Methley, Yorkshire) also has a notated version of the single antiphon *Sceptriger oswalde*.

¹⁵³ See Figures 23 through 25 for musical transcriptions.

Figure 23. Selected comparison of *Inclitus oswaldus*

fol. 1r
Helsinki
in ex - tre - - - num mi - se - re -

fol. 67v
Trinity
in ex - - - tre - mis mi - se - re -

fol. 46r
Dijon
in ex - - - tremis mi - se - re -

H
- - - - - re sa - lus

T
- - - - - re sa - lus

D
- - - - - re sa - lus

Helsinki: Helsinki, National Library, F.m. III.29

Trinity: Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.55

Dijon: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 657

themselves make Magdalene F.4.10 seem like the more conservative source, making it difficult if not wholly impossible to determine whether one version was explicitly edited from the other. The Benedictus antiphon *Miserere domine animabus* (Figure 24) is also unusually presented in F.m. III.29. It is the only chant in the fragment—indeed, it is the only chant in any source of the English office for King Oswald—where there is a disagreement on the transposition of the melody. The chant also appears in full in Dijon 657, as a mode 8 antiphon transposed a fourth up to c; in F.m. III.29 the chant appears as a standard mode 8 antiphon in G. They remain in parallel transposition throughout, but their closing formulas do not: the *evovae* formula in F.m. III.29 is standard for its

Figure 24. Selected comparison of *Miserere domine animabus*

The image displays a musical score comparison for the chant *Miserere domine animabus*. It is organized into three systems, each with two staves: Helsinki (top) and Dijon (bottom). The first system, labeled 'fol. 1v' for Helsinki and 'fol. 46rv' for Dijon, shows the beginning of the chant with the lyrics 'Mi - se - re - re do - mi - ne'. The second system, labeled '(c-clef)', shows the continuation with lyrics 'a - ni - ma - bus cla - - mat op - ti - [mis/mus]...' for Helsinki and 'a - ni - ma - bus cla - ma - bat op - ti - mus...' for Dijon. The third system, labeled '(closing formula)', shows the ending with lyrics '...e v o v a e.' for Helsinki and '...e vo va e.' for Dijon. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and various melismas indicated by horizontal lines and slurs.

Helsinki: Helsinki, National Library, F.m. III.29

Dijon: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 657

mode, moving from c-G, while the transposed figure in Dijon 657, which ought to read f-c, instead reads e-c and overall is more elaborate, though the basic contour is the same.

Even though the fragment features fewer and shorter melismatic passages than the others in several places, there is no other evidence to suggest that this was due to conscious editing: there is also the possibility, for example, that the fragment was copied from an exemplar that transmitted an earlier, simpler form of some of the chants, and the Durham and Peterborough sources transmit a later, extended version of the chants that also simultaneously cleaned up some of the minor repetitions that are still seen in Helsinki F.m. III.29. The reality is that none of the four notated sources appears to have been copied from a common source, and all transmit slightly different versions,

Figure 25. Comparative transcription of *O regem et martyrem*

H: Helsinki, National Library, F.m. III.29
M: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Ms. F.4.10

O regem et martyrem

fol. 1v

H

O re-gem et mar -

fol. 261r

M

O re-gem et mar -

H

- ty - rem os - - - wal - dum sub - li - mis me -

M

- ty - rem os - - - uual - dum sul - li - mis me -

H

- ri - ti qui ho - di - e uex - il - lo ar - ma - tus fi -

M

- ri - ti qui ho - di - e uex - il - lo ar - ma - tus fi -

H

- de - i pug - na - uit con - tra a - ci - es i - ni - mi -

M

- de - i pug - na - uit con - tra a - ci - es i - ni - mi - ci

H

- ci et cru - o - re as - per - sus ex - cer -

M

et cru - o - re as - per - sus ex - cer -

H - ci - tus do - mi - ni co - ro - nam sus - ce -

M - ci - tus do - mi - ni co - ro - nam _____ ce -

H - pit mar - - - - -

M - pit mar - - - - - ty -

H ri - i. V. In - ter _____ mar - ty - ris

M - ri - i. V. In - ter _____ mar - ty - ris

H rex et mar - tyr tri - um - pho sub - li - ma -

M rex et mar - tyr tri - um - pho sul - li - ma -

H - tis no - - - - - bil - li. _____

M - tis no - - - - - bil - li. _____

each with different passages adding or deleting repetitions or an unnecessary sequence of a few notes.

3.3 Concluding remarks

Overall, the conclusions of these small studies are compatible with those that have already been made in the previous chapters. A characteristic English influence can be seen clearly in the sources with both feasts, and none of the Swedish sources appear to be notably old-fashioned or unaware of practices elsewhere in Europe, with the exception of prayers from the Anglo-Saxon Conception feast being preserved along with those from later versions. Recently John Toy has used the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury to make the same argument. Sifting through various fragment archives throughout Scandinavia he located a large number of sources showing evidence of St Thomas of Canterbury's feast, all of which have been dated to within thirty years after his canonization. 'It does seem significant to note those which appeared in the first thirty years', he writes, arguing that it demonstrates 'the efficient communication system of the church in the west... Thus, it is clear that the cult of Thomas came as comprehensively and as early to Scandinavia as it did to the other parts of Europe.'¹⁵⁴

If the Scandinavian ecclesiastical communication network was this efficient at the end of the twelfth century, then the evidence of the office for St Oswald and the mass for the Conception suggests that it was already comparably efficient earlier in the century. The presence of the Conception feast in twelfth-century calendars, combined with liturgical formulas that lost popularity in their Anglo-Norman homeland after the twelfth century, shows that the feast was quickly adopted in Scandinavia. It is possible that the route of transmission came through Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the eleventh century, but this is not the only possibility. The Anglo-Saxon prayers are present in some early twelfth-century sources, throwing into question the narrative that the Anglo-Saxon feast was local phenomenon that was extirpated or simply fell out of practice after the Norman Conquest, and it is also possible that the feast was transmitted in the twelfth century, along more firmly established channels of the new new Scandinavian dioceses. Likewise, the sources for the office of St Oswald are contemporaries with the

¹⁵⁴ John Toy, 'The liturgical commemoration of Thomas of Canterbury in Scandinavia: The first thirty years, 1173-1203', in *Of chronicles and kings: National saints and the emergence of nation states in the high Middle Ages* (2015), 224 and 230.

oldest known sources of his proper office, not much later than the offices are thought to have been composed.

On top of these observations, both feasts complicate our understanding of their comparable English sources. Not only is Helsinki, F.m. III.29 one of the oldest known sources of the English proper office for Oswald, but it may in fact preserve a version of the English office that is older than even those sources known from Durham. The fact that it also contains one of the chants that is known in the later Peterborough sources but not the Durham ones requires a reassessment of how the layers of the feast were composed. The case for the Conception mass is similar. In part due to the methodological tendencies of its early students, scholarship on the early feast of the Conception of Mary has continued to place perhaps artificial boundaries around individual sources, treating them as representatives of singular versions of the mass, when they might best be considered representatives of a fluid practice of any number of piecemeal influences, perhaps none of which can fully proved to be definably 'English' as opposed to 'Anglo-Norman' in its widest sense.

It is clear that both feasts were transmitted from England to Sweden, and quite early in their histories. However, what is not clear is whether the transmission was direct or indirect: the Oswald office may have come by way of influence from Nidaros or Lund, though no contemporary sources to suggest this survive; the Conception feast may have come via Normandy, from whence all of Dary's twelfth-century 'A-type' sources come. In either case, the problem of the route of transmission will likely remain a mystery until more sources are studied and contextualized within a broader history of the early church in Scandinavia.

Conclusion

The studies throughout this dissertation encompass a variety of methodologies and specific case studies, ranging from palaeographical analysis to the transmission of liturgical chants, across a varied range of liturgical genres. However, it is only through the casting of a wide net that the Swedish fragments as a whole can be better understood. So little of each manuscript survives that by themselves they can enable only limited revelations, which are often made dubious from a lack of external support. By incorporating research methods that allow a large body of fragments to be studied simultaneously in a number of different ways, some of these deficiencies can be overcome. Likewise, when examining a single fragment, it is especially important in the case of the Swedish fragments that as many methodologies as possible are brought to bear on the fragment itself, as these fragments come from a region that was profoundly affected in its early development by practices from several different European regions. For example, it is not enough to study the palaeographical features of music or text alone, but both must be considered together. Codex 132 is a clear example of this maxim put into practice: the fragment was catalogued as a German fragment because the Germanic unheightened neumes: however, those neumes exist as only one line of music, and if they are ignored it is apparent that the rest of the fragment seems to follow a number of twelfth-century English conventions.¹ Only through a combined study of text and music—and realistically, of the liturgical contents itself—could we understand Codex 132 as an early Swedish manuscript that exhibits elements from an array of influences.

Many of the general conclusions drawn from this research assume that an unknown majority of the twelfth-century fragments in the MPO and FM were produced in medieval Sweden. From the evidence I believe this is probably the case, though most of the time it is currently still impossible to determine resolutely whether one individual fragment or another was a local product. However, by suggesting that many of them are local, one is able to postulate a number of general trends that illustrate an evolving scribal practice throughout twelfth-century Sweden that is itself unique. There was, first of all, a transition away from using multiple colours in the large initials, first to all-red

¹ Cf. page 72.

initials, and eventually to alternating initials usually of red and blue. There was also a general shift from unheightened Germanic notation to staffed Anglo-French notation, with very little evidence of any development in between, such as loosely heightened but unstaffed neumes, or heightened neumes with a single staff line. There is no evidence in the surviving sources of the experimental ruling layouts for music sources that can be found in manuscripts from other parts of Europe throughout the twelfth century.² It does not appear that these transitions were wholesale, or even piecemeal; rather, they were messy and inconsistent, with an overall sense of forward projection across the sources. Multi-coloured initials occur in fragments that seem to come from early in the century as well as late in the century, and unheightened neumes seem to have been used alongside staffed notation without issue. One explanation for this is that old exemplars and new exemplars were used in conjunction, and perhaps with less discrimination than in places where new books were frequently more available. If Scandinavia had significantly fewer scribes, working largely in the model of a cottage industry, then it is possible that those scribes may have averaged longer careers than usual to make up for their lack of numbers, and perhaps learning their trade through a combination of imitating books both new and old, and being taught by another scribe who may himself have learned in the same way.

It also appears that musical notation, whether unheightened or staffed, followed the same basic trends of evolution as well. In both it appears that one can trace a gradual decrease in the use of certain neumes: these are usually neumes of three notes that end in an ascent—the porrectus, scandicus, salicus and quilisma—but also include the punctum as an unattached note. There also seems to have been a decrease in the use of liquescent shapes other than those associated with the virga or pes, which held on throughout the century. Perhaps most interesting is the tendency for similar neumes to become conflated into a single shape: the visual shape of the salicus standing in for the scandicus, the distinction between virga and punctum disappearing even in unheightened scripts, and the quilisma tending to become associated most often with the torculus and torculus resupinus. The presence of the ladle-shaped pes in the fragments with unheightened notation is a strong indicator of these shifts, and even itself shows some of these characteristics: the ladle-shape can be seen as a liquescent form of the pes

² Cf. page 85.

being adopted as the standard shape for the round pes, but using the angular strokes of the square pes.³

The date of transition from unheightened neumes to staffed notation may appear late in comparison to England and France, but it is important to note that German and eastern European areas continued to employ unheightened neumes much later than Sweden. Rather than being a fringe territory, doomed to remain behind the times in liturgy and scribal practice, the young Swedish church in the twelfth century appears to have been fairly metropolitan in its outlook, and was well-connected to the trends of book production in England, France and Germany. This is corroborated in the liturgy, as well. The feast of the Conception of Mary appears to have been adopted in Sweden at an early date, before the Type 'C' version of the feast fell out of fashion in northwestern Europe.⁴ The office of St Oswald can also be found in medieval Swedish sources, showing contemporary parallels to the feast as it was held in Durham at the time; this is in keeping with other studies that have shown other contemporary offices being adopted throughout Scandinavia as rapidly as anywhere else in Europe.⁵

The liturgical contents of these fragments are no less illuminating. Perhaps the most readily apparent feature of the fragments presented here is the large number that present material from the weeks surrounding Easter. In fact, when grouping the fragments by their liturgical dates of their contents, an unforeseen pattern arises: they are not spread equally across the different sections of the liturgical year, as one would expect if the bailiffs were randomly selecting folios from randomly selected books. The reality is that the fragments are heavily weighted to specific parts of the liturgical cycle. Among the sources that were given individual studies in Chapter 2 and Appendix A, only two manuscript fragments have folios preserving liturgical content that does not come from the Sanctorale and/or Temporale. One of these is Mi 446 *et al.*, which includes the *Ordo ad baptizandum infantem* on one surviving folio, and the other is Br 255, which has folios from the Common of Saints.⁶ Furthermore, almost all of the liturgical content that survives is limited to where it occurs in the calendar. The parts of the Temporale before Lent, for example, are rare: the only fragment to include content

³ Cf. sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.3.

⁴ Cf. sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.4.

⁵ Cf. section 3.3.

⁶ Cf. section 2.2.7, and see Appendix A (Mi 446 + Mi 664 + Fr 5429).

from Advent is Br 1272.⁷ Three fragments, Codex 878, Mi 446 *et al.* and Mi 56 *et al.*, include material from Lent, and all three of these also contain material from other parts of the liturgy as well: Codex 878 and Mi 56 *et al.* both continue on into Passiontide, and Mi 446 *et al.* also contains saint's feasts as well as the *Ordo ad baptizandum infantem* just mentioned.⁸

In fact, the main bulk of content from the Temporale seems to come from the period of Holy Week through the post-Easter season, with ten manuscript fragments whose surviving leaves come from that part of the liturgical season; six of these cover Passiontide specifically, and only one covers Easter itself.⁹ Aside from another three fragments of the summer liturgies after Pentecost, the remaining fragments all come from the Sanctorale.¹⁰ These surviving Sanctorale fragments also are divided unevenly throughout the calendar year. The fragments of Br 177, Br 771, Br 1297, Mi 446 *et al.* and Fr 5792 all come from the period of late August through late November, with October and November being the most heavily represented months.

It is possible to explain these divisions in the calendar as a result of their physical placement inside the original manuscript itself. The combination of Passion Week, Holy Week, Eastertide and the weeks leading up to Pentecost contain a great deal of liturgy, and would probably rest somewhere neatly in the middle of the manuscript. The Sanctorale, which would take up most of if not all of the second half of the book, might typically run from 30 November (the feast of Saint Andrew) to 29 November of the next year, rather than from January to December. The single fragment Fr 1187 contains feasts from both December and January, indicating that it was in fact organized from the feast of St Andrew rather than from 1 January. The large representation of October through November in this case suggests that these fragments were pulled from the very back of the Sanctorale. The fragments Fr 1187 and Br 216 then, both preserving December feasts, might have been pulled from the very front of their Sanctorales. In addition to these, there are also a small number of calendar fragments

⁷ See Appendix A (Br 1272).

⁸ Cf. section 2.2.4, and see Appendix A (Codex 878 and Mi 446 + Mi 664 + Fr 5429).

⁹ Br 12 *et al.*, Br 47, Br 225, Br 232, Br 255, Br 1675, Codex 70, Codex 878, Mi 56 *et al.* and Mi 580. See Chapter 2.2.1 through 2.2.4, 2.2.7 and 2.2.8, and Appendix A (Br 47, Br 225, Br 232 and Codex 878).

¹⁰ The fragments with post-Pentecost liturgy are Br 166, Br 233 and Br 1297 (all given a palaeographical study in Appendix A).

which survive, which in this case would have come from the very front of the book. One can imagine a post-medieval bailiff or his assistant grabbing a nearby manuscript, opening either the front or back of the book and cutting out the first convenient folio, or perhaps letting the book fall open in the middle and taking a convenient folio; alternatively, entire gatherings may have been removed and saved for later.

Unfortunately, there are issues that keep this hypothesis from being wholly satisfactory. Overall, calendar fragments are quite rare in the Swedish fragments, and if the bailiffs simply opened a book from the front and cut out pages then one would expect a higher percentage of calendar fragments; not to mention fragments of the Advent liturgy, which would have occurred after the calendar but is also underrepresented in the fragments. Additionally, there is no telling where each manuscript organized the Common of Saints or the votive masses: if they were placed after the Sanctorale, which seems logical, then they should theoretically be more plentiful than October and November saints' feasts. However, they are exceedingly rare. Also rare is the whole of Eastertide, which itself is quite lengthy. Lent is well represented, as is Passion Week, Holy Week, and the Sundays after Easter, but not the week of Easter itself. It is difficult to believe that every one of these breviaries and missals were organized in such a way that by naturally letting them fall open at the middle they conveniently show Holy Week, but not Easter. There is also the mystery of why some manuscript gatherings seem to have been used as a group for binding, but omitting folios that largely contained just text, and whether this is can even be said to be a noticeable pattern at all.

If most of these conclusions are overly tentative or rely too heavily on hypothetical assumptions, hopefully they can be forgiven in the face of how little work has been performed on this massive collection of material. This study merely scratches the surface of what is possible in studying the fragments. Only three provincial archives were examined here—Småland, Östergötland and Västergötland—and even they were surveyed only at a finite level. Twelfth-century fragments from other provinces still need to be studied in the same way. In order to better understand the wider context of these fragments within the MPO and FM fragments as a whole, additional research would have to draw on the habits of the bailiffs and cameral archives themselves, and include sources from beyond the twelfth century. Their liturgical contents would have to be meticulously compared to each other where they can, and against foreign sources in

any case. The bailiffs involved in the process would have to be identified and counted, and their habits scrutinized for patterns; in fact, it would have to be determined whether the bailiffs themselves were even personally responsible for the binding the accounts, or if anonymous clerks often performed this task for them. It is enough for several lifetimes of work, though I hope that what has been presented here is enough to validate the pursuit of it.

Appendices

Appendix A

Palaeographical descriptions of selected fragments with unheightened notation

The following appendix contains detailed palaeographical analyses of a selected number of the fragments from the MPO accounts with unheightened neumes. With only a few exceptions, most of them are from the 'German' group of fragments in the Småland accounts, but a small number from other accounts, particularly Östergötland, have been included to provide a context with which the Småland material can be compared.

Codex 878

Codex 878 is a breviary fragment whose two known bifolio leaves, Fr 6413 and Fr 6414, are both attached to the same subset of Småland provincial accounts from 1599.¹ The manuscript is dated to the second half of the twelfth century, and each of its fragments has been given a German origin on the MPO, citing its musical notation as the primary grounds of attribution. The manuscript was of high quality and craftsmanship: the textual and musical hands are both well-executed and each features a certain distinctive flair. The textual script, also in a German style, is very upright with sharp angles and few curves, and great contrast between thin and wide strokes; the flat-topped **t**, straight-backed **g** and three-stroked **e** are all easily observed features, and standing out in particular is a very rounded and angled **d** that is often used in the chant texts, unusual next to the rest of the letter forms (see Figures 26b through 26e).

Fortunately, we can find very close matches to these letter forms in other fragments which allows the text scribe's hand to be identified without much trouble. On this basis, the hand also occurs also occurs in Br 146 + Br 788, and also in Br 1311 (Plate 41).² All of these sources are breviaries of roughly the same folio dimensions (it

¹ SRA, Smålands handlingar, 1599:10, volumes 1 and 2.

² Br 146 + Br 788 is currently known to have four fragments: Fr 21988 (unknown archival provenance), Fr 21989=23008 (Östergötland 1592 accounts for Linköping cathedral), Fr 21990 (unknown archival provenance) and Fr 21991 (unknown archival

is impossible to know for certain because of trimming during their post-medieval repurposing), all have the same two-column format and column width (75mm), and all also feature the same music scribal hand and the same style of large initials in red, green, ochre and violet. None of the fragments overlap in any of their liturgical contents. It is very likely that all of these are part of a single manuscript, but more codicological work would have to be performed to determine this. For example, the parchment for the three sources are each of different thickness, overall pliancy, and lightness of colour—these differences could indicate that they come from different batches of vellum production, or they could simply have arisen over the centuries through different methods of storage: several of the fragments have clearly suffered fire or water damage, which could explain the range of parchment qualities.

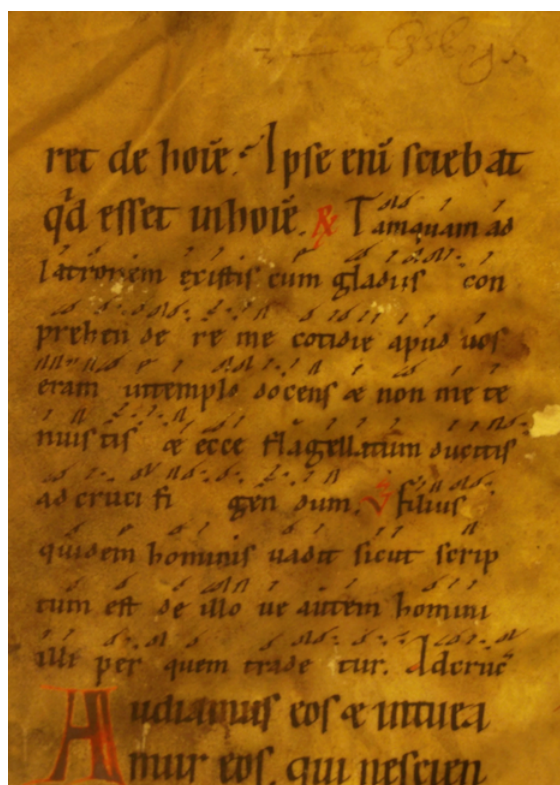
The large initials are usually red but also feature a variety of colours, not always in alternation, and occasionally the artist made modest use of florid arabesque patterns in multiple colours. All of the folios were laid out with temporary lead or dry-point ruling, now invisible, and no prickings have survived in the margins, making it very difficult to judge whether they were prepared in a 1-2-1 or 2-3-2 format, which might otherwise help distinguish between Anglo-French and German characters further.³

The text, music and initial hands occur together throughout Codex 878 and its other associated fragments. Both text and music at least may have been copied by a single scribe, which apparently is not uncommon in the fragments, though there is no way to be sure of it. The textual script is very square, and set strictly perpendicular to the horizontal axis of the line. The script itself is tall, but the ascenders and descenders are often short and stubby. At times the vertical lines are purposefully exaggerated at the beginnings of lines and phrases, or where the scribe simply took fancy. The music script, on the other hand, has a very slanted ductus set to about 35°—often, but not always or consistently, at the same angle as the thin upward strokes in the text, such as the thin strokes in the **e** and **a**, or the connector strokes at the bottom of some letter forms (**c**, **l**, **t**, *etc.*) (Figure 26a). Both the music and text were copied using the same

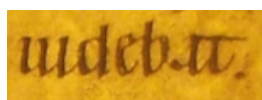
provenance); Fr 21989=23008 was unwittingly given two separate shelfmarks in the CCM, one associated with Br 146 and the other with Br 788. Br 1311 has a single known fragment, Fr 23708 (Småland 1589 accounts).

³ Neil Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest*, 42-43. This is also true in the folios designated to Br 146 + Br 788 and Br 1311.

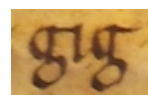
Figure 26. Codex 878, examples of scribal hands



a. Fr 6414, fol. 1v, detail of the music and text hands together.



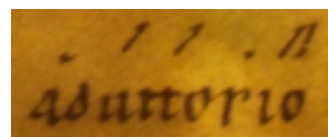
b. Straight-backed t (Fr 6413, fol. 1r).



c. Straight-backed g (Fr 21990, recto).



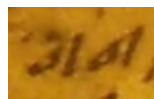
d. Three-stroke e with extended terminal stroke (Fr 4614, fol. 1v).



e. Angled d, seen only in the small script used for chants (Fr 6414, fol. 2r).



f. Pes in Codex 878



g. Torculus in Codex 878



h. Quilisma in Codex 878



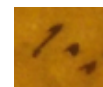
i. Liquescent virga in Codex 878.



j. Virga in Codex 878.



k. Scandicus followed with subbipunctus.



l. Climacus.

ink, and the thin and thick strokes of each indicate that they may have been made with the same size nib.

The music hand makes prominent use of the triangular ‘ladle-’ shaped pes in its fully developed form, meaning that the shape is used not only for the pes itself, but is also seen in the torculus and in the teeth of the quilisma (Figures 26f through 26h). The liquescent virga likewise has developed into a distinct shape, so that the loop at the top is flourished with an exaggerated right-facing endstroke, much like the bowl of the text hand’s letter *e* (Figures 26d and 26i). The resultant shape is a distinct three-stroke neume—much like the three-stroke *e*—that resembles a pressus. The plain virga is always written with a short, broad episema to the left, but occasionally will also have a small right-facing one at the bottom of the neume (Figure 26j). The bottom terminal strokes are clear and carefully executed, but not always present, suggesting that they may have contained some discrete musical meaning for the music scribe. The upper episemata are always present, however; it could be that the lower, right-facing stroke had taken over as the functioning ‘virga episema’ for the scribe, after the upper left-facing stroke had become subsumed into the basic shape of the virga itself.

Three more features of the notation are worth considering. The scribe seems to have reserved the use of the tractulus specifically for compound neumes, almost always the scandicus, preferring the punctum in other cases, such as individual notes and in the climacus (Figure 26k). Additionally, whenever the tractulus appears in the scandicus it is always curved inward, and the effect gives the scandicus the appearance of a salicus, even though the neume is in fact always a standard scandicus; in essence, the scandicus and salicus had been conflated into a single shape, with the differentiation between tractulus and oriscus no longer carrying any meaning. Finally, the climacus is generally aligned to the top of the neume; that is, the virga and the puncta meet together at the top of the neume, forming the shape of an equilateral triangle. The other option, where the virga and puncta meet not at the top of the neume, but at the centre of the virga, creating a flatter triangle with the virga ‘hanging over’ the puncta, is not seen (Figure 26l).

Br 47

The twelfth-century breviary fragment Br 47 has only one bifolio known to survive, Fr 21778. The fragment was used to cover the accounts of Horns Gård, an

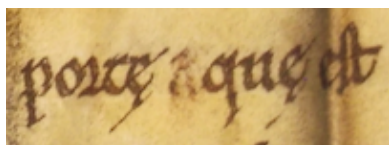
estate near Kalmar, Småland in 1553.⁴ The breviary is in a single-column format, with all large initials in red. The text scribe wrote in an upright Franco-German proto-Gothic, and carefully and precisely made use of the **e**-caudata over **ae** or the **æ** diphthong (Figure 27a). The **g** is one of the scribe's more distinctive features, using two strokes for each loop and a prominent ear, but without any attempt to connect or hide the overlapping strokes (Figure 27b); this could have been through a stylistic choice or a lack of controlled execution.

In English script the differentiation between **e** and **e**-caudata/**ae**/**æ** gradually waned over the course of the twelfth century, perhaps due to changes in vernacular language and spelling from Old English (which used **æ** as a separate letter) to Anglo-Norman (which did not). If Br 47 has English origins, the careful use of the **e**-caudata may indicate that it is from earlier in the twelfth century; however, it might also be that the scribe was particular about expressing appropriate grammatical conventions in his script, or even that his writing was simply old-fashioned. One of these is more likely to be the case: the execution of the **g** aligns closer to the continental Germanic scripts seen elsewhere in these fragments, rather than the English **g**, giving the fragment a distinctly German character in its text, initials, single-column layout and neumes.

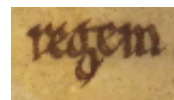
The musical notation in some ways resembles trends in southern German notation in the twelfth century, and in others appears quite antiquated. The scribe saved the punctum almost exclusively for compound neumes, and preferred to use the tractulus for single notes (Figures 27c and 27d). Both the square form and round form of the pes occur, though the square form predominates. The pes was by far the scribe's most variable and inconsistent shape, however, and frequently it is difficult to tell which version the scribe intended to use, or if either form held any specific meaning for him (Figure 27e). Occasionally the square pes has the convex first stroke that ultimately led to the creation of the 'ladle'-shaped pes seen in other manuscripts, but overall this scribe's neumes are old-fashioned and show no characteristics of adopting the ladle form.

⁴ MPO, Fr 21778: 'Håkan Månssons ladugårdsreg f. Horns gård 1553 Småland.' At least eighteen manuscript fragments survive from Horns Gård documents between 1551-69, eleven of them dating to the twelfth century: Fr 21778, Fr 21901, Fr 22354, Fr 22853-22854, Fr 23292, Fr 23447, Fr 23711, Fr 23798, Fr 23829, Fr 23842, Fr 24390, Fr 25645, Fr 27407, Fr 27847, Fr 29716-29717, Fr 30871. In each of the twelfth-century cases, their music is either in Germanic unheightened neumes or staffed square notation.

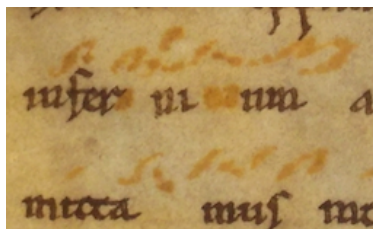
Figure 27. Br 47 (Fr 21778), examples of scribal hands



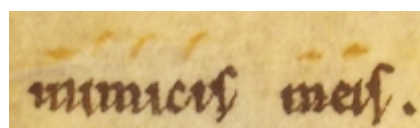
a. E-caudata.



b. G with two-stroke loop.



c. Punctum in compound neumes.



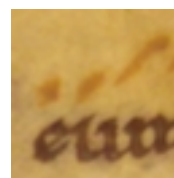
d. Tractulus used as a single-note punctum.



e. Different shapes of the pes.



f. Clivis.



g. 'Scandicus' (always written as a combination of punctum-punctum-virga).



h. Virga, with and without episema, and its liquescent forms.

The clivis always occurs with a sharp angle, with the ascending stroke noticeably longer than the descending stroke (Figure 27f). Unusually amongst these sources, the music scribe did not notate any scandicus or salicus neumes, choosing instead to notate these melodic shapes with two puncta and a virga placed in a horizontal line as separate neumes (Figure 27g). The scribe's virga is typically somewhat short and tapered at the bottom, and even shorter when drawn with an episema; two forms of the liquescent virga were used, one being the standard form with a closed loop at the top, the other looking much the same but considerably less roundness in the loop and with an extending line drawn from the top of the neume out to the right (Figure 27h). This second form of the neume is also found, for example, in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 4, a gradual from the second half of the eleventh century copied in Bamberg for the cathedral there.⁵ The feature is not necessarily indicative of the Bamberg region, however. Miriam Wendling has shown that the use of the form in Bamberg, Lit. 4 is unusual: the form only appears elsewhere as a standard symbol in the troper Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 5, which was copied in Reichenau and brought to Bamberg sometime in the eleventh century; the Bamberg scribes in the eleventh century had been recruited from other scriptoria, and by the twelfth century this particular neume form seems to have lost its use in Bamberg entirely.⁶ There are, however, a large number of fragments in the Swedish archives which use exactly this form of the liquescent virga as a standard type, sometimes in preference for the standard looped form; for example, it is seen in Codex 878. In fact, in these fragments the form shows signs of becoming increasingly stylised in its presentation, in some cases making it difficult to distinguish it from the pressus, possibly even conflating them into a single neume type.⁷

⁵ Miriam Wendling, 'Musical notation in Bamberg 1007-1300' (2012), 104-06.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ This phenomenon is discussed throughout this dissertation in respect to the teeth of the quilisma and the shape of the round pes, or of the salicus and scandicus. Presumably each of these cases would have occurred in the same way: as the 'alternate' form of the neume lost its individual meaning apart from the parent form, the presentation of one or both forms also changed and eventually subsumed into a single shape. This shape was usually the more complex of the two—salicus in favour of the scandicus, three-stroke virga liquescent over the one-stroke shape, etc.—perhaps because it allowed for easier visual recognition and greater visual appeal.

While the text and initials have kept well, much of the music has blurred and faded. When this occurred is unknown, but the neumes for one of the responses, *Deus israel propter te*, have been recopied in a dark ink similar to that used for the text.⁸ The original only had an incipit of a few neumes, and the new neumes were copied directly over the faded old ones and extended the music to include all of the incipit, not just the first two words ‘*Deus israel*’. The new neumes also retain the same visual forms as those they replaced—this could have been because they were made by the original scribe, or because the newer scribe found it preferable to keep all of the manuscript’s neumes unified in appearance, regardless of how he drew them personally. That this one incipit is the only portion of the fragment to have received this treatment is puzzling, though it is the only incipit which had incomplete notation, and may have been copied over simply for the sake of completing the manuscript rather than repairing it.⁹

Br 177

This breviary survives in two fragments, Fr 22031 and Fr 22032, both of unknown archival provenance (Plates 42 and 43).¹⁰ The two fragments comprising Br 177 are no longer bound to their records, and the archival annotation has since faded away, making it very difficult to determine from where they came. On Fr 22031, however, there is the portion of a capital letter **S** still visible, so it is possible that the fragments were originally attached to Småland or Södermanland accounts.

The fragments feature a very rounded German notation, wholly different in its calligraphic execution to Codex 878 or Br 47, but still similar in the shape and function of its neumes (Figures 28a through 28c). The salicus and scandicus have once again been conflated into a single shape—the more visually distinct salicus—but the use of the neume is exclusively to represent the ‘plain’ scandicus. The neumes are wider and rounder in general than those sources mentioned above, noticed most especially in the ‘ladle’ pes. The virga is executed at a more angled ductus than the rest of the neumes, and is made with two joined strokes without lifting the nib: a thin upstroke of medium

⁸ MPO, Fr 21778, fol. 2v.

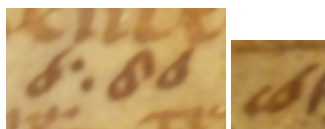
⁹ However, there are several incipits with no notation at all, especially in the verses, and these have not been touched.

¹⁰ The latter fragment survives only as a thin strip of parchment, used to reinforce the spine of a bound document rather than to cover it.

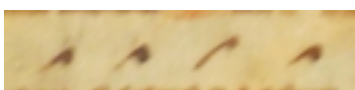
Figure 28. Br 177 (Fr 22031 & Fr 22032), examples of scribal hands



a. Scandicus with salicus-like presentation.



b. Examples of the ladle shape: pes subbipunctus, torculus, pes, quilisma.



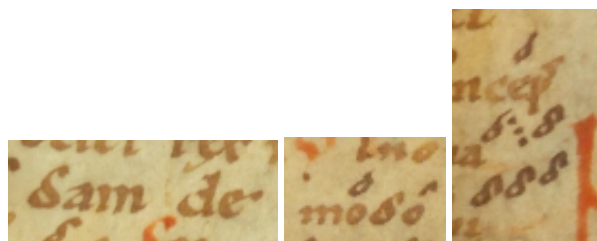
c. Virga, made with an upstroke rather than a downstroke.



d. Climacus with various angles and alignment of strokes.



e. E at the end of a word (left), and e-caudata (right).



f. Straight and Rounded d, with pes.



g. Comparison of the angles and strokes used in the music and text: compare the general ductus of the upstrokes, the angle at which the upstrokes turn back into downstrokes, the 'feet' at the end of each letter/neume, and the shape of the bowls in the pes and the straight **d** and **g**.

length, followed by a thick, short downstroke that gives the neume the look of a virga episema.

The scribe was reasonably consistent in executing all shapes, including those which required lifting the nib, such as the scandicus and climacus. In both of these cases the angle is generally even on both sides and creates a sharp 35° triangle; the climacus is generally aligned so that the puncta are just under the top of the virga, but they are also occasionally aligned higher up, with the top of the previous neume; this can be compared to the music scribe of Codex 878, whose scandicus also sits at a very evenly balanced angle, but wider, and consistently aligns the descending puncta higher up, with the top of the virga (Figure 28d).¹¹

The fragment has been dated in the MPO to the eleventh or twelfth century, but this is probably too early. The text is of a late continental Caroline round minuscule, but borders on a protogothic script: the open **a**, the closed and rounded **g**, and the straight **t** all point to a twelfth-century continental protogothic script, but the overall roundness of the script and the tendency to avoid the ‘compression and elaboration of minims’ point to an older caroline minuscule of the previous century.¹² The musical script also has eleventh-century features, but the prevalence of the ladle shape makes it more likely that this manuscript comes from the early- or mid- twelfth century, and simply features a number of scribal elements which by then would have been considered distinctly old-fashioned.

The breviary was laid out in two columns with all-red initials, in a rounded continental minuscule. It features a round **d** made using the same calligraphic ladle-shape used throughout the notation, and an exaggerated hairline on the **e** where it occurs at the end of the word (Figures 28e and 28f). The comparison of the round **d** and the music’s ladle-shape draws attention to an important cross-section of the European scribal world prior to the thirteenth century: the influences back and forth between the calligraphy of musical notation and of text. Scribes of liturgical sources had to deal in both text and music, though there is no reason to assume that they always preferred one over the other, or were trained in both equally. In many cases it can even be suggested with reasonable security that a scribe performed both functions within a single source.

¹¹ See the description of Codex 878 above, and Figure 26.

¹² Michelle P. Brown, *A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600*, 66-74, pls. 23 and 25.

Br 177 is one source which could very well have been copied by a single scribe: the text, music and rubrics all use the same thickness of nib; both text and music employ the same roundness of shape and stroke angles; and the pigmentation of the ink indicates that several large passages of text and music were made with the same ink. If the music and text scribe were in fact the same, it would explain why, for example, the angles of upstrokes and connecting strokes in the text are parallel to those in the music, why the execution of the rounded clivis follows the same arc as the **n**, or why the ladle-shape was incorporated into the round **d**, a letter form whose leaning orientation otherwise looks out of place next to the other letters (Figure 28g). Each of these similarities would have been due to certain mechanical motions in the hand, an inherent part of the scribe's method of writing, and these basic motions would have affected the look of both music and text in similar ways. The rounded **d** especially looks as though its shape was informed by the ladle neume shape.

In any case, in the thirteenth century the mutual calligraphic interaction between text and music shapes must have become far less important, possibly even disappearing entirely. Not only did the continued use of the music staff create boundaries around the possible developments of neumatic scripts, but the shift to square notation would have divorced the calligraphic features of musical notation from those of text.

Br 216

Fr 22073 is a single bifolio fragment of a standard folio-sized breviary (c. 206 mm × 163 mm, but with cropping at the bottom), and the sole fragment assigned to Br 216.¹³ The fragment contains office material for the feasts of the Nativity, St Stephen, and St John the Evangelist. It is laid out in a single-column format, with initials all in red. The margins are uniformly 1.6cm on all sides. It contains a single Arabesque initial, in red ink, for the first reading of Matins in the Nativity feast, Isaiah 9:1-3 (*'Primo...'*).¹⁴ The text is written in a twelfth-century protogothic script that has been

¹³ The fragment was removed from its archival documents, leaving its archival provenance unknown.

¹⁴ MPO, Fr 22073, fol. 1v. After the initial, the entire first word is written in alternating red and black large initials; this is the only case in which the fragment's initials are not red.

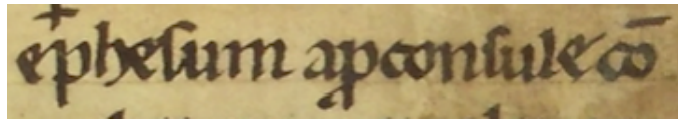
described by Michael Gullick as Anglo-French in style.¹⁵ The assignment can be corroborated by a few features: the high angle of the terminal hairline in **a**, the stylized shape of the ampersand, and the exaggerated length of the **e**'s crossbar have an English quality, but the **g** is in a rounded form usually seen on the continent (Figures 29a through 29c). The capital **N** is made with the 'English' crossbar, though the way in which it is formed does not appear distinctively English (Figure 29d).¹⁶ Some of the scribe's most notable textual features include a distinction between the vocalic **u** and the consonantal **v**—but only when they occur at the beginnings of words—the alternating use of a single-barred and double-barred capital **H**, and the exclusive use of the *punctus* for all forms of medial and final punctuation, without the *punctus versus* or *punctus elevatus* that appear frequently in twelfth-century sources (Figure 29e).

The music in Br 216 is set at a fairly consistent ductus, though it fluctuates between an angle of approximately 30° and 35°. While the text hand suggests English or French training, the neumatic notation suggests south German roots. The 'ladle' pes is present in its closed form, which often includes a small curl at the end of the upstroke. The scribe actually made use of two specific forms of this pes, one 'square' and one 'round'. The square form of the ladle pes was made with two distinct strokes, which at times show that the nib was lifted in between, and creates a very angular and triangular bowl; the round form was made with a single, continuous stroke that creates curved loops (Figures 29f and 29g). The angular 'square' form predominates throughout the notation, and until close comparative analyses can be made with the chants it is unclear why the scribe chose to use the other form when he did. The scribe also used the climacus and square clivis in their south German forms, and as a common feature in these fragments, placed an episema on each virga as a matter of course (Figures 29h and 29i). However, unlike the scribe of Br 177, who wrote his virga with a right-facing stem, and therefore had to draw the neume with an upstroke, the scribe of Br 216 used a left-facing stem, and so was able to continue writing the virga with a downstroke. The pressus maior was used both as an individual neume and as an attachment to end of

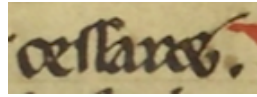
¹⁵ Michael Gullick, 'Riksarkivet fragments' (unpublished manuscript provided to the author 11 August, 2014), entry for Fr 22073.

¹⁶ Contrast with, for example, Michelle P. Brown, *A guide to western historical scripts from antiquity to 1600*, 76, pl. 26.

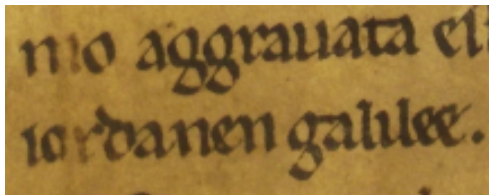
Figure 29. Br 216 (Fr 22073)



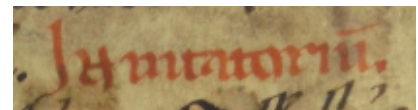
a. Letter forms of **e** and **a**.



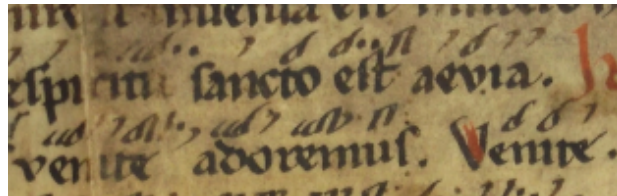
b. The ampersand, shown here as an abbreviation in 'cessaret.'



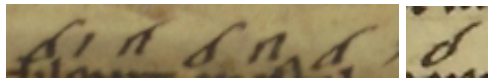
c. The rounded **g**, seen with and without an ear.



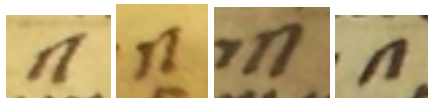
d. 'English' **N** with a crossbar.



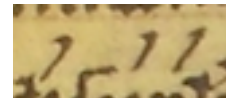
e. Consental **v** replaces **u** at the beginnings of certain words; in the middle of words it almost always remains as **u**, except very occasionally.



f. The angular, two-stroke pes ('square' form, left) and the rounded, one-stroke pes ('round', right).



g. Forms of the square and round clivis.



h. Virga.

other neumes, another characteristic of some south German styles of script.¹⁷ The scribe only occasionally wrote a scandicus, preferring instead to represent ascending passages using a string of individual simple neumes, such as three virgae in a row.

¹⁷ Miriam Wendling, 'Musical notation in Bamberg', 145-46. The practice, however, was not used in Bamberg. By some point in the twelfth century scribes there favoured using the pressus minor to represent both forms of the neume, dispensing with the pressus maior entirely. The purpose behind conflating the two neumes is still unclear,

In general, the music scribe, like the text scribe, seems to have had a very clear idea of how to express his neume shapes, but was inconsistent in his calligraphic execution, which could have been through lack of training, but it may also have been through a lack of concern for that amount of detail. Additionally, the hand of the rubrics does appear to be the same hand as the main text. The shared broad consistency of letter and neume forms paired with an inconsistent execution of those forms provides some evidence to the possibility that Br 177 (or this fragment of it, anyway) was the work of a single scribe.

Br 225

Another solitary fragment, Br 225, contains two folios.¹⁸ The folios measure 305 mm × 210 cm, with a single-column writing area of 255 mm x 145 mm in thirty-one lines. The prickings in the outer margin show that both folios were pricked together, though more fragments would have to be discovered to tell whether its bifolios were pricked individually or in full gatherings. It features an Anglo-French protogothic script of the twelfth century, and uses all-red initials. The only punctuation mark used throughout is the *punctus*, much like Br 216, though the letter forms are closer to those seen in Br 47: the **g** in particular has of the same type of ‘figure-eight’, with a straight back and with each of the circles drawn using two separate downstrokes, one for each half of the circle; the shape and execution of the ampersand is identical in all three sources (Figures 30a and 30b).

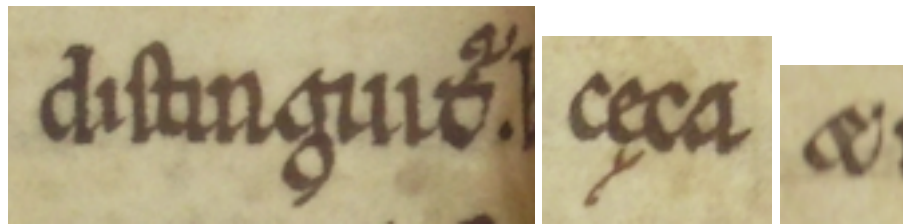
The liturgical material in the fragment comes from the office for Palm Sunday. Its lessons are taken from St Maximus of Turin’s sermon on Psalm 21, and Bede’s commentary on Exodus 26:33 is also supplied as a homily.¹⁹ The homily from Bede was a common feature of this office, but the lesson texts are more variable and can provide

since they had traditionally been reserved to indicate different numbers of notes—however, the evolution reflects the trend shown throughout these fragments, that multiple forms of a single neume type gradually combined into a single representative neume, usually keeping the meaning of the simplest form of that neume but often using the calligraphic features of one of the more complex forms of the neume.

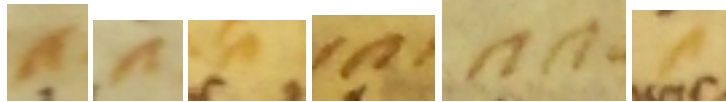
¹⁸ MPO, Fr 22905.

¹⁹ Almut Mutzenbecher, ed., *Maximi episcopi Taurinensis* (1962), 112-13; J. A. Giles, ed., *The complete works of Venerable Bede*, vol. 7 (1844), 296-97.

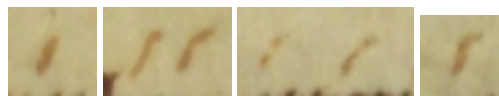
Figure 30. Br 225 (Fr 22095)



a. Examples of straight **d**, rounded **t** and **g**, e-caudata and ampersand.



b. Clivis.



c. Virga.



d. Square and round pes.



e. Climacus.

some more accurate comparisons.²⁰ Parts of the same sermon are used in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. oct. 402, an early Cistercian manuscript with links to Cîteaux and its daughter houses Autun and La Bussière, and even some spelling and syntactical variants remain the same between the two sources.²¹ Table 40 provides a comparison of Br 225 with two Cistercian sources, Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 and a later Cistercian source from the fourteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1016. In a comparison between Br 225 and the two Cistercian sources, Br 225 shows much stronger connections to the older Cîteaux breviary: of the forty-nine items present in Fr 22095, fifteen are in concordance with the two Cistercian books, with a further two entries that only concur with Berlin, Ms. lat. 402. Fifteen concordances out of a full

²⁰ The homily was used for Palm Sunday by the Cistercians (BNF, Ms. lat. 1016, fol. 171v, s. XIII) as well as in Soissons (BNF, Ms. lat. 1259 fol. 132r, s. XIII), and in Spain (BNF, Ms. lat. 12038, fol. 98v, s. XIII).

²¹ Chrysogonus Waddell, *The primitive Cistercian breviary* (2007), 256-61.

Table 40. Comparison of Br 225 to Cistercian sources

	Br 225 (Fr 22095), fol. 1r-2v	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. oct. 402 ²²	BNF, Ms. lat. 1016, fols. 170v-172v
	<u>In primo nocturno</u>	<u>In primo nocturno</u>	<u>In primo nocturno</u>
Lesson	Psalmi uicesimi...	Psalmi uicesimi...	Psalmi uicesimi...
Response	Indie qua inuocau	In die qua inuocau	In die qua inuocau
Verse	Deus meus eripe me de manu	Deus meus eripe me de manu	In die tribulationis mee
Lesson	Nisi <i>et</i> enim fallorum susceptio...	Nisi fallor, susceptio...	Nisi fallor, susceptio...
Response	Fratres me [s]eleongauerunt ²³	Fratres mei elongauerunt	Fratres mei se elongauerunt
Verse	Amici mei	Amici mei	Amici mei
Lesson	Et cum ueluti sub una materie...	Nox quodammodo aufert...	Quam sicut dicit apostales. lex spualis est...
Response	Adtende domine ad me	Adtende domine ad me	Attende domine ad me
Verse	Homo pacis mee in que	Homo pacis mee in que	Homo pacis mee in quo
Lesson	Atque ita ante matutina susceptione...	Velut radios quosdam dominus...	Deum christi solis iusticie matutino...
Response	Saluum fac decus quo[niam] ²⁴	Saluum me fac, deus, quoniam	Saluum me fac deus quoniam
Verse	Intende anime mee	Intende anime mee	Intende anime mee
		<u>In secundo nocturno</u>	<u>In secundo nocturno</u>
Antiphon	—	Dominus defensor	—
Versicle	—	Eripe me, domine, ab homine malo	—
Lesson	Huius itaque solis uistitie matutino...	Domini Christi solis iusticie matutino...	Totus hic psalmus
Response	Noli esse michi domine alienus	Noli esse michi, domine, alienus	Noli esse mihi domine alienus
Verse	Confundantur omnes inimici	Confundantur omnes inimici	Confundantur omnes inimici

²² Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (2007), 157-60.

²³ The s before 'elongauerunt' was supplied by the music scribe to indicate 'se elongauerunt'. Likewise, Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 also omits 'se', but was not emended, while BNF, Ms. lat. 1016 retains the full phrase 'se elongauerunt'.

²⁴ The text scribe left room for a melisma at 'quo-niam', but this apparently was not needed. The text scribe thus made the correction in spacing, quite possibly immediately after the original error was made. This would indicate either that the music and text scribe worked together, that the text scribe was familiar with the notation of the chant in question and realized his error soon after making it, or possibly that text and music were in fact done by the same hand.

Table 40 (continued). Comparison of Br 225 to Cistercian sources

	Br 225 (Fr 22095), fol. 1r-2v	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. oct. 402 ²⁵	BNF, Ms. lat. 1016, fols. 170v-172v
Lesson	—	Hic itaque: Deus, deus meus, respice in me...	Nichil enim <i>mihi</i> conscius sum...
Response	—	Ingrediente domino in sanctam ciuitatem	Ingrediente domino in <i>sanctam</i> ciuitatem
Verse	—	Ex ore infantium, deus, et lactentium	Cum audisset <i>populus</i> quia <i>ihesus</i> uenit
Lesson	Cum plura dico intiono sint...	Dominus <i>hac</i> uoce in passione usus est...	Dominus hac uoce in passione usus est...
Response	Dominus mecum est [tam] quam ²⁶	Dominus mecum est tamquam	<i>Dominus</i> mecum est <i>tanquam</i> bellator
Verse	Et uim faciebant	Et uim faciebant	Tu <i>autem</i> domine sabaoth
Lesson	—	Quoniam sequentia pene manifesta sunt...	Quod igitur diuiserunt sibi uesti...
Response	—	Obprobrium factus sum nimis inimicis	Obprobrium <i>factus</i> sum nimis inimicis
Verse	—	Locuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa	Locuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa
Antiphon	Ancilla dixit petro	<u>Ad Cantica</u> Osanna filio Daud	<u>Ad Cantica</u> Osanna filio dauid
Verse	Neperdas cum impiis	Neperdas cum impiis	Ne <i>perdas</i> tuum impiis
Secundum Mattheum	Cum appropinquasent...	Cum appropinquarent...	Cum appropinquasset...
Homily	Mediator dei <i>et hominum...</i>	Mediator dei <i>et hominum...</i>	Mediator dei <i>et hominum...</i>
Response	Vnus ex discipulis meis	Contumelias et terrores passus	—
Verse	Qui intingit mecum in anum inparapssi	Iudica, domine, causam anime mee	—
Lesson	Occisi eruebantur. uiuantes...	Ante quinque Pasche dominus uenire...	Ecce <i>dominus</i> instar agni paschalis...
Response	Eram quasi agnus innocens ductus	Deus Israhel, propter te sustinui	<i>Deus</i> israel propter te sustinui
Verse	Omnes inimici Dicentes uente	Improperia improperantium	Improperia unproperantium
Lesson	Protexisti me aconuentu maligantium...	Sed uidiorum corda principum...	Bene cum ad <i>montem</i> olyueti
Response	Vna bona non potuistis uigilare	Animam meam dilectam tradidi	<i>Animam</i> meam dilectam tradidi
Verse	Dormite iam <i>et</i> requiescite	Omnes inimici aduersum me	Pastores multi demoliti sunt uineam
Lesson	—	Asina et pullus	Inuenietis asinam alligatam

²⁵ Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (2007), 157-60.

²⁶ Another mistake and correction made by the text scribe; see the note above.

Table 40 (continued). Comparison of Br 225 to Cistercian sources

	Br 225 (Fr 22095), fol. 1r-2v	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. oct. 402²⁷	BNF, Ms. lat. 1016, fols. 170v-172v
Response	—	quibus sedens Insurrexerunt in me uiri iniqui	<i>et pullum...</i> Insurrexerunt in me uiri
Verse	—	Et dederunt in escam meam fel	Et dederunt in escam meam fel
Oratio	—	—	Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui huius...
	<u>In tertio nocturno</u>		
Antiphon	Dixi iniquis nolite loqui	—	—
Antiphon	Terra tremuit <i>et</i> quieuit	—	—
Antiphon	Indie tribulationis mee deum exquis	—	—
Versicle	<i>Deus</i> meus erpie de manu	—	—
Lesson	Conuenientibus <i>uobis</i> uinum...	—	—
Response	Se niores populi consilium	—	—
Verse	Congregauerunt iniquita	—	—
Lesson	Itaque quicumque manducaurent...	—	—
Response	[fragment ends]	—	—

monastic matins office is a rather weak number for claiming Cistercian influence; however, even if the manuscript itself does not transmit the Cistercian office, it nevertheless agrees with it more than most.

The Br 225 fragment does follow monastic use—the matins office for Palm Sunday is divided into three nocturns with nine lessons, the final one being a biblical reading—and it is possible that Br 225 was connected to one of the local Cistercian houses. Several such houses were established in Sweden in the twelfth century, and all of them were based on French Cistercian models. However, the fact that Br 225 seems to conform most closely with the early Cistercian source from Cîteaux makes it difficult

²⁷ Chrysogonus Waddell, *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary* (2007), 157-60.

to prove this. The sources Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 and Paris, Ms. lat. 1016, are perhaps best viewed not as representing Cîteaux use versus Clairvaux use, but as representing an early, prototypical Cistercian use versus a later, unified use. Because of this, the closer similarity to Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 does not necessarily mean that Br 225 is closer to the use of Cîteaux specifically. In fact, it would be somewhat surprising if it did, since every Cistercian abbey in what eventually became Vasa Sweden but one was connected directly to Clairvaux, beginning with Alvastra abbey and Nydala abbey, who in turn founded their own daughter houses to further the influence. The one exception was Herrevadskloster, founded in 1144 in Skåne, a province on the southern coast of the Swedish peninsula that was actually part of the medieval kingdom of Denmark, but had become a Swedish province by the time of the Vasa bailiff administration; Herrevadskloster was, in fact, the only Scandinavian Cistercian house established by Cîteaux.²⁸

If it could be shown that Br 225 is specifically indebted to twelfth-century Cîteaux use, then a case might be made for associating the fragment with Herrevadskloster; but as has been mentioned, it is more likely that Br 225 simply conforms to a general Cistercian use that was still in a prototypical—and therefore somewhat fluid—stage of development. However, there are enough parallels between Br 225 and the Palm Sunday liturgies of other, non-Cistercian sources that make even that attribute tentative at best. Two sources with no discernible Cistercian connections, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1259 (Soissons, s. xiii), and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12038 (Spain, s. xiii), are both similar enough in content to each other to suggest that the Palm Sunday office in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries had several universal elements. In fact, most all of these concordances also occur in the Cistercian manuscripts, suggesting something of a universal foundation for the office.²⁹

An exact comparison of their respective rites is difficult to make, as the Soissons breviary does not have all of the items of the office recorded. Still, among the items

²⁸ James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (1992), 43-44.

²⁹ One source was consulted for this comparison, an Aquitainian Benedictine breviary Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 742, fols. 140-142r (s. xii/xiii). However, the only noticeable (superficial) parallel between it and the other sources (or of Br 225) is the response *Attende domine ad me*, with the same spelling variant ‘adtende’ seen in Br 225; the other items present a wholly different office.

present in all four manuscripts (thirty-four items in total), sixteen agree across all four sources; six items have different placements in the Soissons breviary, and the lection from Maximus Taurinensis that begins '*Denique hac voce*', while present in all four manuscripts, is reordered in the Cistercian manuscripts from lection 6 to lection 7. Surprisingly, the reordering of this single lection is the only agreement that occurs uniquely between the Cistercian sources, and the other concordances are either with one or the other, or both but in a different ordering. More common are unique concordances between the Cîteaux breviary and the Soissons breviary (three of them, two occurring in the same positions), and unique concordances between the Clairvaux breviary and the Spanish breviary (seven in total, all but one occurring in the same positions).³⁰

However, while the two Cistercian manuscripts might only uniquely agree on the reordering of one lection, there are six items which either agree between the Cistercian sources and only one of the other two sources, or occur in all sources but are ordered in the same way only in the Cistercian sources and one other. These include the responses *Saluum me fac deus*, *Noli esse michi domine alienus*, *Dominus mecum est tanquam bellator* and the verse for the Canticle antiphon, *Ne perdas cum impiis*.³¹ All six of these also occur in Br 225, using the same ordering found in the Cistercian sources. In addition to this, Br 225 concurs with the Cîteaux breviary rather than the Clairvaux breviary on two separate counts. In the responsories for the first lesson (*In die qua inuocaui te*) and the sixth/seventh lesson (*Dominus mecum est tanquam*), the responsory verses given in Br 225 and the Cîteaux breviary are *Deus meus eripe me* and *Et uim faciebant*, respectively, while the Clairvaux breviary has *In die tribulationis* and *Tu autem domine sabaoth*, agreeing with the Spanish source BNF, Ms. lat. 12038.³²

³⁰ The concordances between Berlin, Ms. lat. 402 and BNF, Ms. lat. 1259 are the lection beginning '*Nox quodammodo aufert*', and the versicles *Deus meus eripe* and *Et uim faciebant*. Between BNF, Ms. lat. 1016 and BNF, Ms. lat. 12038 are the versicles *In die tribulationis meae*, *Tu autem domine sabaoth* and *Omnes inimici aduersum me*, and the lections '*Quam sicut dicit*', '*Domini christi solis iustitiae matutino peccorum*' and '*Ecce dominus instar agni paschalis*'. Each of the three concordances between Berlin, Ms. lat. 402 and BNF, Ms. lat. 1259 occur at a position where there is a different concordance between the other two.

³¹ The antiphons are different between Br 225 and the Cistercian sources, but the verses remain the same across all three.

³² The Soissons breviary BNF, Ms. lat. 1259, however, agrees with the Cîteaux breviary in the earlier responsory, and none of the sources in the latter responsory.

Without further comparison it would be inopportune to make definite claims concerning the fragment's origins as a Cistercian breviary. The Palm Sunday liturgy in Br 225 does appear closer to the Cîteaux breviary than the Clairvaux breviary or the non-Cistercian breviaries mentioned, but there are several possible explanations for this. Both Br 225 and Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 are roughly contemporaneous sources, while the other sources all date from the thirteenth century, including the breviary from Clairvaux. It is possible that both the Cîteaux breviary and Br 225 present older forms of the Palm Sunday office, already amended by the Cistercians in the twelfth century in Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402, and amended again in the thirteenth in BNF, Ms. lat. 1016. Furthermore, if Br 225 were in fact a Cistercian source, its use of German unheightened neumes would be a highly unusual and noteworthy feature.

Nevertheless, the early Cistercian breviary so far remains the closest point of comparison, and currently very little is known about the local Cistercian houses in terms of their role and practices in early book production in Sweden, or even if they operated within Cistercian guidelines in those regards. All of the French Cistercian houses were founded by Clairvaux, with the exception of Herrevadskloster in Danish Skåne, which was a daughter house of Cîteaux. If Berlin, Ms. lat. oct. 402 in fact preserves a variation of the Cistercian liturgy that was unique to Cîteaux in the mid-twelfth century, then it is possible that this liturgy was transmitted to Herrevadskloster. Currently, no manuscript fragments have been localized to the monastery, so there is nothing with which to compare Br 225.

Ultimately, until much more work is done the only assessment that can be made about Br 225 is that the music at least was most likely to have been copied in Scandinavia. While the text has survived well and was executed in an Anglo-French script, the notation is of a different character entirely. The neumes were copied after the text, probably by a different scribe, and certainly in different ink and with a different nib; unlike the text ink, the music has bled and faded poorly into a pale brown that is at times difficult to read. The music scribe wrote in a Franco-Germanic script. The clivis is curved inward and sharply angled, with the descending stroke shorter than the ascending stroke. The scribe had the tendency to keep descending strokes perpendicular to the writing axis, but sometimes the stroke of the clivis bows inward, or occasionally it even bows outward, showing either a lack of control or a disinterest in calligraphic consistency in his neume forms (Figure 30b). The virga he wrote both with and without

an episema, though it is unlikely that he intended to differentiate between them: the virga was usually created with a single upstroke, curving very slightly to the right as a natural motion of the hand; a slight right-facing hook can be made automatically when ending a stroke of this kind, and scribe drew any number of degrees of virga, between having no episema and having a very clear episema, making it impossible to tell much of the time whether one was actually intended. Moreover, it seems that he also occasionally drew the virga as a downstroke instead, making it heavier at the bottom than the top (Figure 30c). The scribe used both the round and square pes, although these also run a nearly infinite variety of degrees between them, and may carry no distinctive meanings (Figure 30d). He always drew the climacus at a shallow angle and with the puncta aligned to the middle of the virga (Figure 30e). Overall, the music hand in Br 225 appears to have been competent in writing neumatic notation, but very inconsistent in doing so. This could have been from lack of training or expertise, or perhaps the scribe's understanding of neume shapes was such that he saw no need to attempt to execute the shapes with the same sort of consistency as the text.

Br 232

Fr 22102 is the only fragment assigned to Br 232, a twelfth-century breviary copied in single column with red initials (the smaller initials in black with red highlighting).³³ The manuscript was originally in a folio-sized format, but its sole folio has been trimmed down to just 180 mm × 145 mm, cutting off several lines of the writing area and some marginal material as well. It preserves content from the first nocturn of Trinity Sunday, including the responsoris *Benedicamus patrem* with its verse *Benedictus es domine in firmamento*, and *Summae trinitate*. After the responsory *Benedicamus patrem*, the lesser doxology's notated incipit is given as 'In secula' rather than the usual 'euouae' mnemonic.³⁴

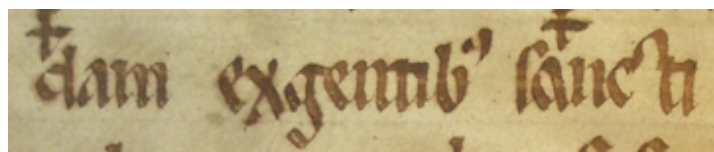
The text is written in a fairly thick protogothic script with continental influences such as the open-bowled **g**, and a **c+t** ligature that clearly separates the two letters (Figure 31a).³⁵ The music is in a broad Germanic style of unheightened neumes, seen in

³³ Its provenance within the Swedish provincial accounts is unknown.

³⁴ MPO, Fr 22102, recto.

³⁵ The ligature can be seen, for example, in Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 130, a copy of St Jerome's commentary on Jeremiah made in 1125 at Cîteaux, on fol. 11ra. See Albert Derolez, *The palaeography of Gothic manuscript books* (2003), pl. 3.

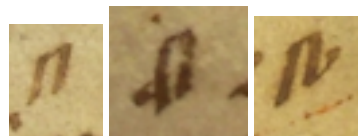
Figure 31. Br 232 (Fr 22102)



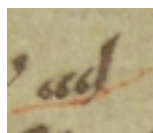
a. Example of textual script, with straight **d**, **x**, open **g** and a widely spaced **ct** ligature.



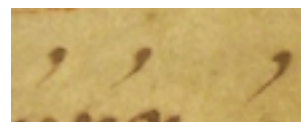
b. Pes.



c. The clivis shape (left) used to create torculus (middle) and porrectus (right).



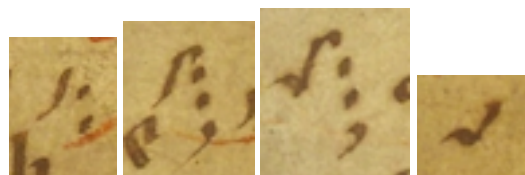
d. Quilisma.



e. Virga.



f. Two calligraphic forms of the scandicus.



g. Two calligraphic forms of the climacus, and the pes subtripunctis and pes.

sources from central Germany to the northeast France. The music scribe used the Germanic square forms for the clivis, pes, torculus and porrectus that would all eventually be incorporated into gothic notation; the virga he wrote as an elongated comma stroke (Figures 31b through 31e). Unlike the style of notation seen in fragments such as Br 216—where the scribe borrowed the ladle shape of the pes to form all hooks and curls in the notation—the scribe of this fragment based his porrectus and torculus on the clivis, by adding a virga stroke afterward for the former and a single tooth borrowed from the quilisma for the latter.

The music scribe's execution of the scandicus and climacus show an interesting interaction between them and his virga. The scribe did not use the punctum as a

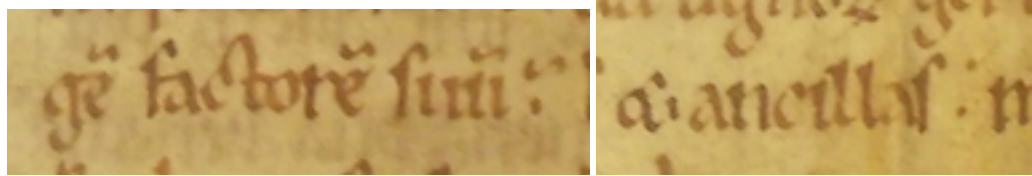
standalone neume; it only exists in his scandicus and climacus. However, the other calligraphic portion of those neumes, the virga, is rendering interchangeably in one of two ways, neither of which is the way he drew the virga by itself (Figures 31f and 31g). The first of these is as a left-curving downstroke with no tails or flags, and the second is an upstroke with a right-facing hook. The second of these at least can be explained through the scribe's use of the pes subpunctis. He used the pes subpunctis regularly, and drew it by attaching a rightward hook to the top of the pes, showing its connection to the puncta that follow in line. This same shape was then also used alternatively in the climacus and scandicus. His drawing of the virga, however, had no influence on how he executed either neume; rather, the only neume to use the virga's calligraphic shape is the porrectus.

Br 233

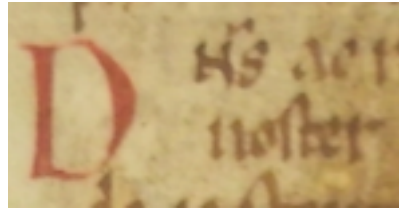
Br 233, a twelfth-century breviary with a single known surviving fragment, has a similar layout to Br 225.³⁶ Arranged in two columns and in a standard folio-size (c. 320 mm × c. 220 mm after trimming at the top), the text was copied in an angular Anglo-French protogothic script with broad serifs, an open-bowled **g**, the English nearly horizontal crossbar of **N**, the observance of both *punctus elevatus* and *punctus interrogativus*, and a strict use of the **e**-caudata; **ct** and **st** are always ligatured (Figures 32a through 32c). The musical notation is in a Franco-Germanic script very similar to that found in Br 225, but with some tendencies toward central German forms. For example, while the scribe primarily used the narrow, sharply angled round clivis also seen in Br 225, he occasionally employed a square clivis more akin to that found in Br 232 (Figure 32d). He also used a 'flagged' virga, created with a downstroke, as did the music scribe of Br 232, though the visual style remains thin and angled like the rest of his notation; rather than a broad left-facing flag at the top of each virga, it is a thin line, at times so exaggerated as to look very much like a virga episema. When drawing the scandicus and climacus neumes, moreover, the scribe did not alter his calligraphic execution of the virga (Figure 32e). The ladle shape does not appear to have affected the scribe's script much: he did use it for the pes, almost always with the bowl open rather than closed, but he also used the basic round and square pes, and the quilisma and

³⁶ MPO, Fr 22103. The fragment survives from military records dated 1564 for the Östergötland infantry (*östgötaknektar*).

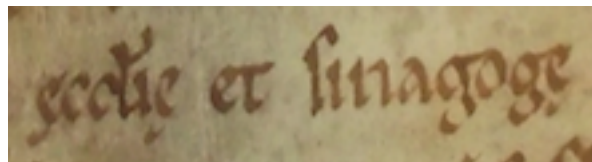
Figure 32. Br 233 (Fr 22103)



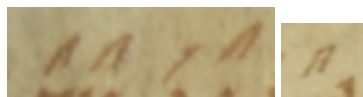
a. Examples of the *punctus interrogativus* (left) and *punctus elevatus* (right); also the **g**, abbreviation line over **n**, ampersand, and **ct** ligature.



b. Red initial for **D** and nearly horizontal **N** crossbar, and the **st** ligature.



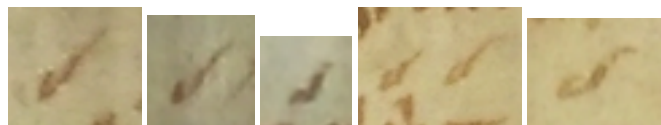
c. Examples of *e-caudata*, with a single curl to the right.



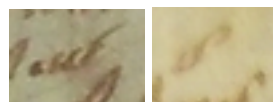
d. Round clivis and square clivis.



e. Virga, and its literal incorporation into the scandicus and climacus.



f. Different shapes of the pes: round, square, and open 'ladle'.



g. The quilisma (using round pes), and the torculus.

torculus both kept to their more traditional forms, as well (Figures 32f and 32g). Perhaps unusually, the chant texts and neumes appear to have been copied in the same brown ink and with the same sized nib, but the spoken texts are copied in a darker black ink with a broader nib. As the chant and spoken texts are both written by the same scribal hand, this could indicate that both text and music were copied by a single scribe, who used one set of quill and ink for the texts, and another for the chants.

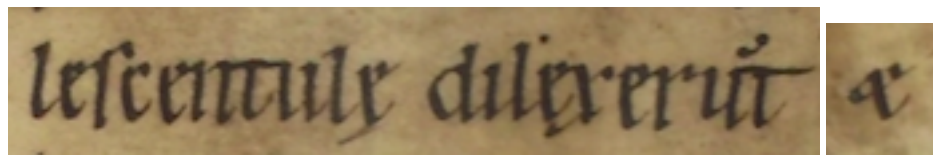
Br 771

Br 771 is a breviary fragment, written in two columns using an Anglo-French protogothic script and German neumes.³⁷ Stylistically the script has aspects in common with Codex 878. Its arabesque initials alternate between green and red or violet, similar to those in Codex 878 but with more rigidity in the alternating scheme; Br 771's initials are strictly red-green-violet-green. The artistic style of the initials also mirrors those in Codex 878, though the letter forms are not always the same and the initials in Br 771 are, generally speaking, more ornate. The Anglo-French style of protogothic script—with a closed, straight-backed **g**, **e**-caudata, and crossbar **N**—is in the same script as Codex 878, though by a different hand (Figure 33a). The script is strikingly consistent and well-executed. For example, the scribe used both straight and round **d**, as in Codex 878 and Br 177, but unlike these other fragments, the scribe of Br 771 exclusively reserved the round **d** for chant texts; the other two generally have the round **d** in chant texts and straight **d** in larger texts, but are by no means consistent (Figure 33b). By contrast, the only feature of the Br 771 scribe which can be considered inconsistent is in the **g**—not in its shape, which remains consistent throughout, but in whether he connected the two strokes of the descending bowl (Figure 33c); this can be contrasted to the **g** in Br 47, which is structurally the same but has its strokes overlap in exaggerated ways. The punctuation includes a measured use of the *punctus* and *punctus versus*, but lacks the *punctus elevatus* that is often found in the other fragments with an Anglo-French or Anglo-Norman script.³⁸ Prickings were made on the inner and outer margins,

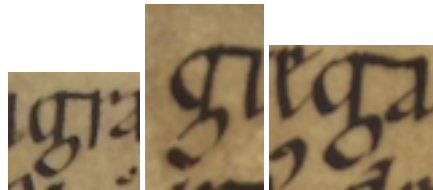
³⁷ MPO, Fr 22988. The bifolio fragment comes from sanctorale,, with portions of the feasts of the Beheading of John the Baptist, the Nativity of Mary, and of St Michael. Also included are short offices, with proper prayers only, for St Hieronymus, St Remigius, St Leodegarius, Ss Marcus and Apuleus, and St Dionysius.

³⁸ N. R. Ker, *English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest* (1960), 46-49.

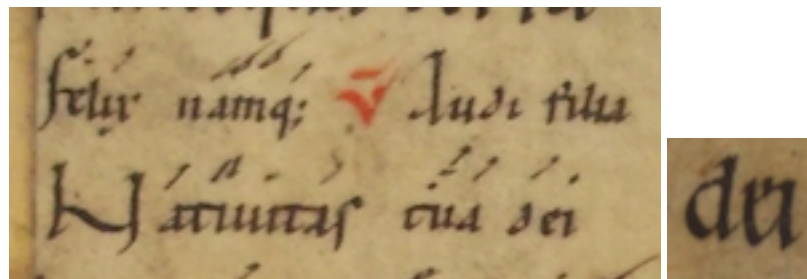
Figure 33. Br 771 (Fr 22988)



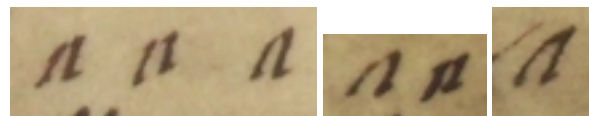
a. The e-caudata, three-stroke x, straight t, n-ligature and ampersand.



b. The g, with the lower bowl made open and closed strokes.



c. Crossbar N and round d (left, chant texts only) vs straight d (right, spoken texts only).



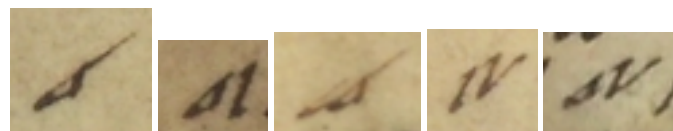
d. Clivis.



e. Virga and punctum.



f. Climacus and scandicus.



g. Pes, torculus, quilisma, porrectus and torculus resupinus.

and the bounding lines were made according to Ker's English 2-3-2 layout, with two lines in the outer margins and three in the centre.

The music hand wrote in a Germanic script, clearly related to the script used in Codex 878 but with enough characteristic differences to set it apart as a different hand. While the music scribe of Codex 878 used both round and square clivis, in Br 771 the scribe only used the square form. There are times where its shape is compressed, causing it to resemble the round clivis, but it can still be identified as square by the manner of its execution in two strokes: an initial downstroke followed by a second stroke, up-and-down, to the right, much like how an **n** is drawn. The round clivis would have been made using a single curved stroke that began upward and turned back down at the end, and the scribe of Codex 878 appears to have adopted each separate technique when drawing either neume (Figure 33d). The virga in Br 771 is the same as that Codex 878 (Figure 33e).

The music scribe made frequent and pervasive use of the ladle shape in his neumes as well, and all of the associated features that can be identified alongside this practice are also present here: the scandicus is always represented by drawing the salicus; and, generally speaking, all multi-note neumes have been altered to incorporate the calligraphic design of the virga, pes or clivis whenever possible (Figures 33f and 33g). For example, in the compound neumes that contain a virga—the scandicus and climacus—the virga was drawn without alteration, as opposed to what is seen in Br 232. The quilisma, of course, incorporates the ladle pes as the main part of its neume. Additionally, the torculus appears as a clivis but with the ladle pes replacing the first stroke, and the porrectus appears as a clivis with a virga attached at the end. Interestingly, in order to create this last neume the scribe had to draw the virga in reverse, as an upstroke rather than a downstroke; however, care was still made to create visual parity between the virga and the final stroke of the porrectus.

In all, the music scribe of Br 771 was working with the same basic script as the scribe of Codex 878, and the comparisons between initials and textual scripts indicate that this connection went even deeper. Indeed, both manuscripts may have come from the same centre. Which scribal milieu this might have been is uncertain, but the post-medieval provenance of Br 771 may help. The single fragment currently assigned to Br 771 was preserved in the 1553-55 accounts for the knight Axel Eriksson, who had served as judge in Tiohärad, a hundred within Småland. He once owned land in

Östergötland around Linköping, but during the years in which these accounts were prepared, 1553-55, had lost the last of it.³⁹ His fiefs in Östergötland included the hundred of Svinstad (present Bankekind) and the lands around Askeby abbey, a Cistercian nunnery founded after 1185 as a daughterhouse of Vreta Abbey, another nunnery in Linköping.⁴⁰ As these accounts are of a more personal nature than the general provincial accounts, it may be that they are more likely to have been prepared locally, which would place the premodern provenance of Br 771 to Östergötland, possibly even the parish church at Svinstad or Askeby Abbey.⁴¹

Br 1272

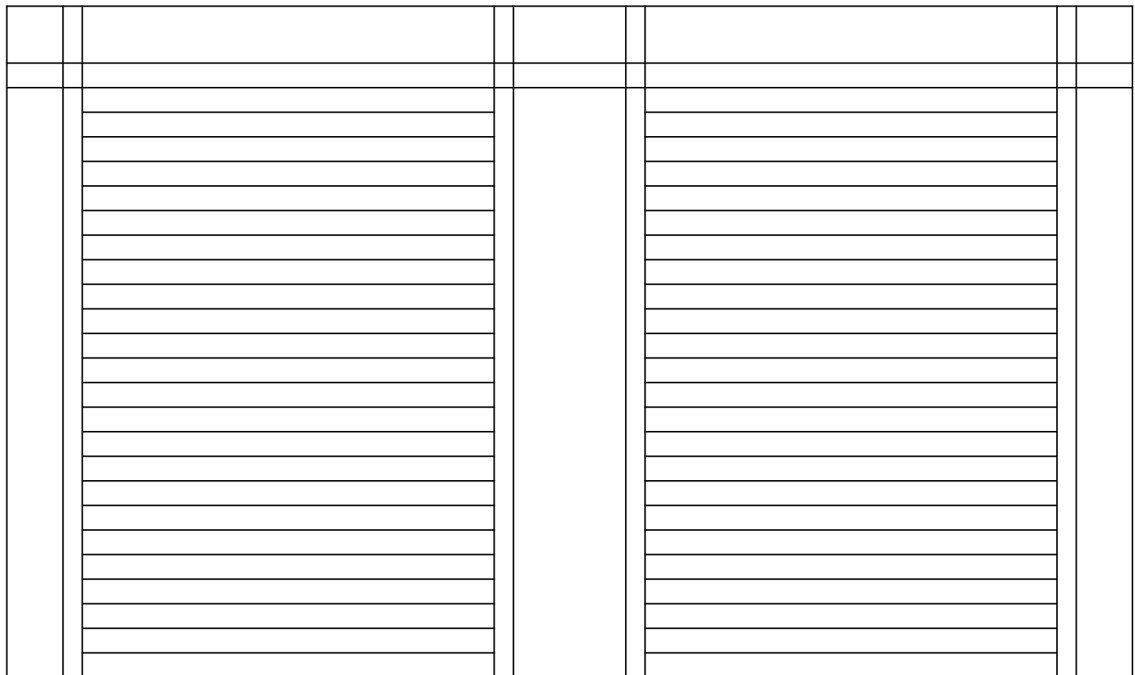
Fr 23662, the sole known surviving fragment of Br 1272, was used to bind Småland administrative accounts in 1572, specifically those for Southern Vedbo, a hundred in northern Småland near Jönköping. Prepared in single column prickings in the outer margins at c. 8mm intervals, the drypoint margins are enclosed by two bounding lines c. 6mm apart (2-2), creating roughly a 3:4 ratio between margins and lines. Only the top two writings lines were scored across the entire sheet, with the rest carefully drawn within the writing area itself (Figure 34). Both text and unheightened neumes use Anglo-French scripts. The text has a short and very rounded quality, with a pronounced rounded **t** and capital **M**, and finial connecting strokes that tie each character together. (Figure 35a). These connecting strokes are carefully distinguished in the minims, so that **n**, **u**, and **ii** are made clearly distinct from each other, as opposed to the more compressed forms of protogothic script in other fragments, where the distinctions are more blurred (Figure 35b). Aside from the **g**, the nearly horizontal angle

³⁹ 'Axel Eriksson (Bielke)', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* (1917 and 2016) (<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/Sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=18158>, accessed 19 June, 2016).

⁴⁰ Ingrid Sjöström and Marian Ullén, eds., *Östergötland landskapets kyrkor* (2016), 37. For a full history of the church at Askeby, see Andreas Lindblom, *Sveriges kyrkor: Kyrkor i Östergötland*, vol. 1, part 1 (1921), 3-65.

⁴¹ Askeby was in existence after 1185, but the first known record of Svinstad parish is from 1334, which takes it out of the running as a possible candidate if the fragment were actually used in Östergötland in the twelfth century; Andreas Lindblom, *Sveriges kyrkor: Kyrkor i Östergötland*, vol. 1, part 1 (1921), 67. However, Svinstad/Bankekind as a district is one of the oldest in Östergötland, its origins dating back to the twelfth-century, and Ingrid Sjöström and Marian Ullén place it amongst the county's earliest examples of stone churches, from the twelfth or early thirteenth century; see Sjöström and Ullén, *Östergötland landskapets kyrkor* (2016), 13 and 39.

Figure 34. Br 1272 (Fr 23662), reconstruction of ruling



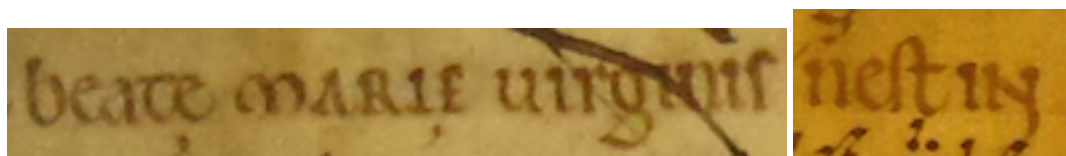
Top and bottom of folio trimmed when removed to wrap provincial documents.

of the crossbar of **N**, the *punctus elevatus* and the *punctus interrogativus* point to English or Anglo-French origins (Figure 35c).⁴²

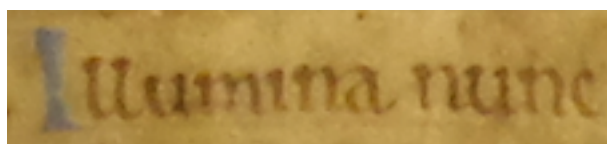
The neumes in Br 1272 are of a type used in Anglo-French sources and many of the twelfth-century Swedish fragments with staffed notation, exhibiting characteristics and shapes that would eventually evolve fully into square notation, although the ones here are used as unheightened neumes. With only two exceptions, the scribe did not use the scandicus in its traditional form—as a stacked unit of three individual notes, punctum-punctum-virga—but as a punctum and pes instead. Moreover, in the two cases in which he did use the traditional form, he did not stack the notes, but write them

⁴² The shape of the *punctus interrogativus* in Br 1272 was common in English and north French manuscripts in the second half of the twelfth century; see M. B. Parkes, *Pause and effect* (1992), 194-95, pl. 18, and 294-95, pl. 73, which shows examples of this form of the *punctus interrogativus* in Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. lat. 88 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F.1.15.

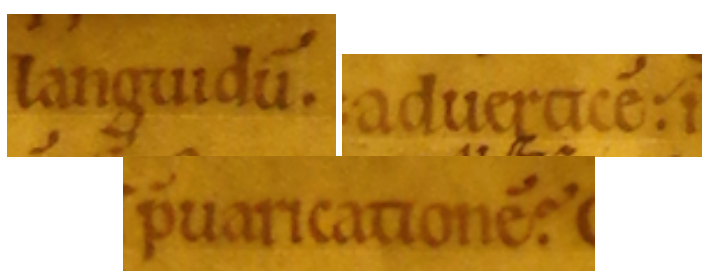
Figure 35. Br 1272 (Fr 23662), examples of scribal hands



a. Round **t**, round **M** and closed **g** with hairline (left), crossbar **N** (right).



b. Clear use of shoulders and finials to separate minims in **n**, **u**, **i**, **m**, etc.



c. Three forms of punctuation. *Punctus*, used throughout; *punctus elevatus*, used as a partial stop; curly *punctus interrogativus* used in a reading of Isaiah 1:4-6.



d. Two forms of the scandicus, with the virga and pes for graphical comparison.



e. Round and square clivis, torculus, torculus resupinus and porrectus.



f. Liquescents: oriscus, cephalicus, virga and pes (in two forms).

obliquely at a wide angle (Figure 35d). Interestingly, the 'pes' used in the punctum-pes form of the neume is not the scribe's pes at all, but his virga with a foot added (which he never drew except when drawing the scandicus). Despite this presentation suggesting only two notes instead of the three, the context is quite clear that the 'footed virga' should be treated as a pes.

This could indicate his familiarity with staffed notation over unheightened notation. The combination of punctum and pes to indicate a three-note rising figure is seen throughout the staffed sources in Sweden, and this shift in form can be explained through the adoption of the music staff itself. Because of the physical spacing of notes on the staff, the scandicus in its traditional form had become somewhat awkward to place. The individual notes had to be spread out to their appropriate spaces along the staff, breaking up the sign's graphical unity, which in turn would have created more difficulty in its visual recognition. One solution could have been to dispense with the scandicus entirely, simply writing the notes individually as puncta or virgae; another solution, adopted by many scribes of the sources currently in Sweden, was to alter the compound makeup of the scandicus into a punctum and pes, allowing them to create a visual connection between the notes spread across the staff lines, while still maintaining the same basic shape of the scandicus.

The other features of the music hand show a familiarity with transitional aspects into square notation. He used both the square and round clivis, but differentiated between them for calligraphic reasons only, much like the staffed music scribes mentioned in this chapter, and while the torculus and porrectus were both still very much a part of his neumatic lexicon, he drew them in the 'square notation' style, as noteheads connected by straight hairlines (Figure 35e). The scribe had not fully dropped all forms of earlier neumatic notation, however. He did make use of liquescence occasionally, mostly in the oriscus and cephalicus, but occasionally also in liquescent forms of the virga and pes (Figure 35f).

Br 1297 + Br 1298 + Br 1316

Br 1297, Br 1298 and Br 1316 are a set of twelfth-century breviary bifolio fragments surviving from Småland accounts, assigned to Germany in the MPO due to the neumatic script. All three in fact belong to the same manuscript, and Br 1297 and Br 1316 were even next to each other in their gathering: Fr 23692 (Br 1316) was nestled

Figure 36. Br 1297 + Br 1298 + Br 1316, layout

[illegible]

immediately inside of Fr 23713 (Br 1297), with a third, lost bifolio inside Fr 23692. For simplicity, the three together will be referred to here simply as Br 1297.⁴³ The fragments were all prepared in the same manner, with single bounding vertical lines for the outer margins and two bounding lines for the intercolumn (1-2-1 format, with c. 15 mm for the intercolumn and c. 80 mm for the writing areas), and thirty-four horizontal lines were drawn directly across the entire sheet uniformly at 8 mm intervals; prickings were made in the outer margins only (Figure 36).

The MPO lists the contents of each as containing the tenth through twelfth Sundays after Pentecost, but the De Sapientia office from the summer histories is also present, before the tenth Sunday. The histories and post-Pentecost Sundays were not always distinct from each other in terms of content, and plenty of chants which would

⁴³ MPO, Fr 23692, Fr 23693 and Fr 23713.

otherwise be listed 'per annum' can be found in either set of offices; the placement of the histories could be before the post-Pentecost Sundays, or scattered throughout them, as well.⁴⁴ The De Sapientia office is unusual.⁴⁵ The incipit for the Magnificat is listed after the responsory for the eighth lesson: R. *Magna enim sunt iudicia V. Transtulisti illos per mare, Magnificat.*⁴⁶ The ninth lesson responsory has three verses listed, two of which appear to have no connection to the office: R. *Ne derelinquas me, V. Apprehende domine arma, V. Ostende nobis deus, [V.] Indutus est.*⁴⁷ The final verses are given as incipits, but no music was provided for them, so perhaps the two added verses were unfamiliar to the music scribe.⁴⁸

Though the textual script does not appear characteristically Anglo-French, it nevertheless shares features with some Anglo-French scripts used in Swedish sources: the roughly horizontal crossbar of **N**; the closed straightback **g** with a sharp hairline; an exaggerated extender on the ampersand and **e**; and the use of the *punctus interrogativus* (Figures 37a and 37b). The *punctus interrogativus* looks very like the quilisma found in many of the fragments, but the music scribe in Br 1297 *et al.* wrote his differently: his quilima is less angled and based on the ladle pes, and has an extra tooth (Figure 37c).⁴⁹

The main music scribe used, generally speaking, a Germanic script in the same family as Br 233, though with his own peculiarities. He almost always used the virga as in Br 233, a short angled downstroke with a prominent left-facing flag, but when the virga came before a clivis he would sometimes group them together and create the virga without a flag (Figure 37d). He also used the flagless virga once after a pes, in *Duo*

⁴⁴ Linz, Österreichische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 290 (s. XII, Kremsmünster) and Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012 (s. XII, Klosterneuburg) both have all of the histories after Trinity Sunday (i.e., the first Sunday after Pentecost), but before the rest; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 30 (s. XIV, St-Lambrecht), on the other hand, has them scattered throughout, with De Sapientia falling between the ninth and tenth Sundays, as in Br 1297. Andrew Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office* (1982), 189-90 and 286-87 provides a brief outline of the histories and their role in the summer liturgy.

⁴⁵ MPO, Fr 23713, fol. 1r-v.

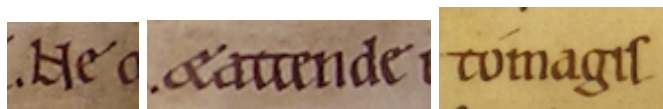
⁴⁶ CANTUS ID 7113 and 7113b.

⁴⁷ CANTUS ID 7204, 7204a, and the final two verses can be one of several (or none) of those listed on CANTUS.

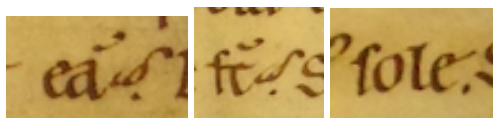
⁴⁸ Not all of the incipits in Br 1297 were given music, however.

⁴⁹ A similar *punctus interrogativus* can be seen in Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 441, a twelfth-century manuscript from Clairvaux, on fol. 112v. See Albert Derolez, *The palaeography of Gothic manuscript books* (2003), pl. 6.

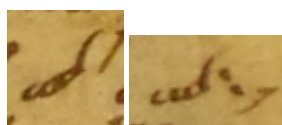
Figure 37. Br 1297 + Br 1298 + Br 1316, examples of script



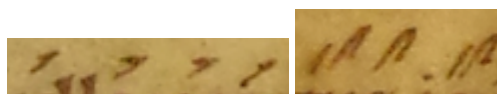
a. Crossbar N, ampersand, e and g.



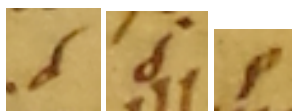
b. *Punctus interrogativus* and *punctus* (used for all other punctuation).



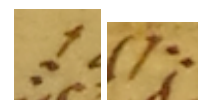
c. Quilisma.



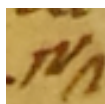
d. Virga.



e. Ladle shapes: pes, liquescent pes and liquescent virga.



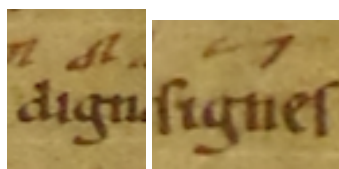
f. Scandicus and climacus.



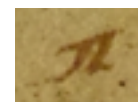
g. Porrectus.



h. Pes of music scribe B.



i. Short and long torculus of scribe B.



j. Clivis of scribe B.

homines ascenderunt at the word 'unus'. In a contemporary antiphoner from Austria, Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, this phrase is characterized by a pes and two virgae, creating the disjunct melodic line D-A-C-A.⁵⁰ The music scribe of Br 1297 used the same neumes to express this passage—a pes and two virgae—but the first virga he wrote without the flag, perhaps to indicate the disjunct

⁵⁰ Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012, fol. 147r.

interval.⁵¹ However, later in the same chant, at 'stans', the scribe wrote another straight virga followed by a footed clivis, whereas in Klosterneuburg, Ms. 1012 the figure is represented with a pressus maior showing D-D-C. If the two versions were written with the same melodic motion in mind, then the straight virga here could have been used to indicate a unison pitch between the virga and the first note of the clivis. The pair of a virga and pes occurs a number of times in Br 1297, and when compared to Klosterneuburg, Ms. 1012 there does not appear to be any consistent rationale for the choice; at times the pair occur during interval leaps, at times at unisons, and many times the Klosterneuburg source only records the clivis, with no preceding virga at all (Figure 38). A much more thorough comparison of the chants in Br 1297 with a large number of other sources would have to be conducted to determine whether these flagless virgae were intended to have any particular meaning.

The music script overall shows a progression toward the ladle shapes, but only partially so. The shape is evident in the pes and somewhat in the liquescent virga, but far more rounded than the examples seen elsewhere where the ladle shape was incorporated in full (Figure 37e). As with the several other transitional neume scripts, the scribe retained the unaltered shape of the virga in his compound neumes (scandicus or climacus), and used a scandicus that borrowed its visual look from the salicus (Figure 37f). Perhaps as a Frankish influence, he drew the climacus by aligning the descending puncta with the very top of the virga rather than the middle, and he always drew the round clivis (one stroke, up-and-down) rather than the two-stroke clivis—however, his porrectus was based on the square clivis form (Figure 37g).

One other unusual feature of this scribe's hand is that he used both three- and four-teethed quilismas, rather than two- and three-teethed ones. Both are used in the antiphon *Duo homines ascenderunt* (Figure 39). The quilisma with four teeth is followed by a climacus, heightened so as to be above the quilisma. In Klosterneuburg, Ms. 1012, this figure is written as a standard quilisma and climacus, whilst in Sankt Gallen Ms. 388 it is copied as a punctum and quilisma followed by a climacus subtripunctis.⁵² A much earlier manuscript from Saint Gall, Sankt Gallen Ms. 391, adds a plica to the beginning of the phrase.⁵³ The quilisma with three teeth appears two times

⁵¹ MPO, Fr 23692, fol. 2v.

⁵² Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 388, p. 423.

⁵³ Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 391, p. 237.

Figure 38. Chant comparisons between Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Bibliothek, Ms. 1012 and Br 1297 (Fr 23733, fol. 1r and Fr 23692 fol. 2v)

The images beneath each transcription are taken from Br 1297 (Fr 23733, fol. 1 and Fr 23692, fol. 2v).

Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.129r, *Magna enim sunt*

Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.146v, *Dixit dominus ullico*

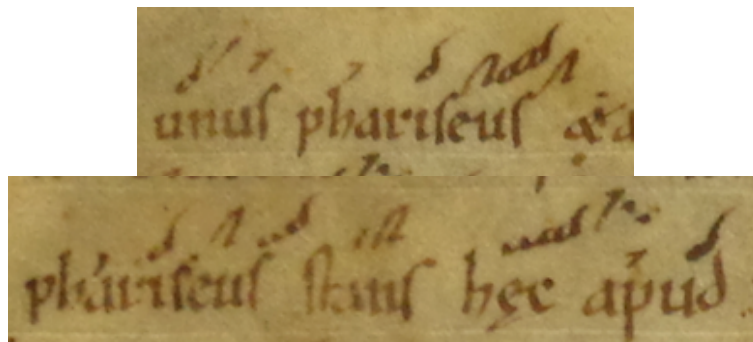
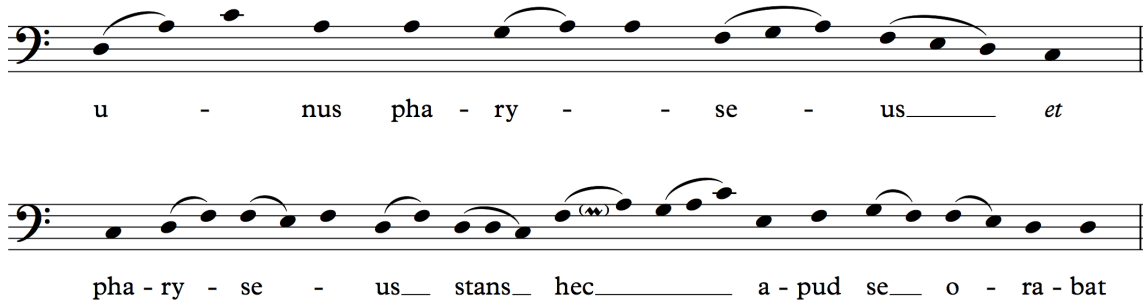
Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.147r-v, *Duo homines ascenderunt*

Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.147v, *Stans a longe publicanus*

Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.147v, *Stans a longe publicanus*

Figure 39. Use of the quilisma in *Duo homines ascenderunt* (Fr 23692, fol. 2r-v)

Klosterneuburg, MS 1012, fol.147r-v, *Duo homines ascenderunt*



before that in the chant, at 'unus phariseus' and 'phariseus stans', as well as in the ending *euouae* formula. At 'unus phariseus' the quilisma is surrounded by a clivis on either side, totalling to six notes. In both Sankt Gallen, Ms. 391 and Ms. 388 the clivis-quilisma-clivis sequence is replaced with one of virga-salicus-pressus maior, totalling to seven notes, with the extra note being tacked onto the end of the phrase; in Klosterneuburg, Ms. 1012 the sequence is copied as virga-trivirga-scandicus, also totalling seven notes, although in this case the extra pitch is where the quilisma and salicus are in the other sources. When considering these variant readings, it is difficult to determine whether the music scribe of Fr 23692 intended this three-teethed quilisma as a two-note or three-note neume. The problem of interpretation persists at 'phariseus stans', where the quilisma in Fr 23692 is replaced with a two-note pes in both Klosterneuburg, Ms. 1012 and Sankt Gallen, Ms. 388, but a three-note combination of an oriscus and pes in Sankt Gallen, Ms. 391. Unfortunately, none of the other sources consulted here include the

euouae formula, and one which does, a thirteenth-century antiphoner from Einsiedeln, uses a different formula entirely, making the comparison useless.⁵⁴

The third bifolio fragment of Br 1297, Fr 23693, features a second music scribe. The main scribe had begun working on folios in this fragment, but the second scribe, whose hand was similar to the hand in Br 216, took over partway through fol. 2v. The second scribe's general use of neumes was the same as both the main scribe and the scribe of Br 216, though as usual he retained some of his own personal characteristics. He drew his pes very wide and short, so much that its shape almost resembles an equilateral triangle (Figure 37h). He is also used the long torculus, making his hand unique among those included in this study (Figure 37i). The long torculus seems to have been extremely rare in the twelfth-century sources currently in Sweden, just as the form was no longer in the general lexicon of neume shapes in most German scriptoria by the middle of the twelfth century.⁵⁵ Another peculiar neume shape of his involves two tractuli followed by a clivis (square, as are all of his instances of the clivis; Figure 37j). The neume is used several times, and was clearly designed around the scandicus, which he also drew in the same way with tractuli instead of puncta. In this particular case, this neume form can be tied to a specific musical practice that the scribe was attempted to illustrate in his script. When comparing the neume's use in a passage of *Tua sunt hec criste* with the same passage in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12044—a staffed source from St Maur-de-Foess and roughly contemporary with Br 1297—it can be seen that where music scribe B used the 'scandicus turned clivis', in the St Maur-de-Foess antiphoner the passage is represented by a pes and clivis, with the two notes of the pes spaced a third apart; in another part of the same chant, where the same pes-clivis melodic contour occurs in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1022 but with the notes of the pes spaced only a second apart, in Br 1297 the scribe used a regular pes and clivis, and in one instance a torculus.⁵⁶ The 'scandicus-clivis', then, was music scribe B's way of indicating a rise and fall of four notes, where the first interval was a third leap rather than in stepwise motion (Figure 40).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 611 (89), f. 143v.

⁵⁵ Wendling, 'Musical notation in Bamberg', 125.

⁵⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 12044, fol. 189r.

⁵⁷ It is possible that the scribe used the variant to indicate a leap of any interval, but intervals other than a third are not present to test this possibility.

Figure 40. Use of the scandicus-clivis in *Tua sunt hec criste* (Fr 23693, fol. 2v)

The images beneath each transcription are taken from Fr 23693, fol. 2v.

Paris, bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 12044, fol. 189r



Br 166

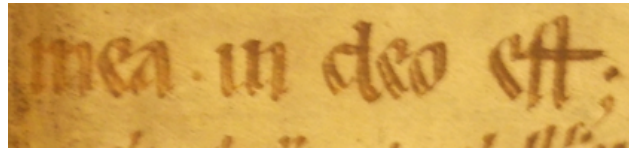
Two bifolio fragments are known to survive from Br 166, both from Småland accounts of 1556.⁵⁸ The breviary was originally somewhat larger than most, with a folio width of at least c. 370 mm × 290 mm; the generous dimensions of the writing area, with thirty-two lines spaced 11 mm apart, allowed the scribes to write a comparatively large script. The text was copied in two columns (with a margin format of 2-4-2 lines) using an upright, broad continental protogothic hand, with a split nib that made two lines during thick strokes (Figures 41a and 41b).

The music, however, was copied by three separate hands. All three scribes used a downstroke virga with 'episema' flag, and none of them used a porrectus (Figures 41c and 41d). Beyond this, they are each distinct: the main music scribe (scribe A) and scribe B (who only copied *Que mulier habemus* on Fr 5398, fol. 2v and a single line of *Honor uirtus et potestas* on fol. 1r), both used the same basic shapes for the pes, clivis, and torculus (all square), but the main scribe did not use the punctum as an independent neume while scribe B did, and the main scribe used no liquescent neumes, while scribe B used a single distinctively shaped cephalicus. Neither scribe incorporated the calligraphy of the virga into the scandicus or climacus neumes, though scribe B did not actually use the scandicus at all. Overall, both of these square Germanic scripts are severely limited in their range of neumes used, though neither adopt the ladle shape in any significant way. Scribe C copied nearly as many chants as the main scribe, and had a much wider neumatic vocabulary than the other two. Aside from a use of both virga and punctum as autonomous neumes, as well as the inclusion of both scandicus and cliamcus, scribe C also employed a modest variety of liquescent neumes (Figure 41e). His drew his neumes invariably round, and his closed pes, torculus and quilisma show some unity in their shapes, though none of them can quite be considered to have adopted the ladle shape. Moreover, his execution of the virga remained intact whether he drew it as a single neume or within a scandicus or climacus.

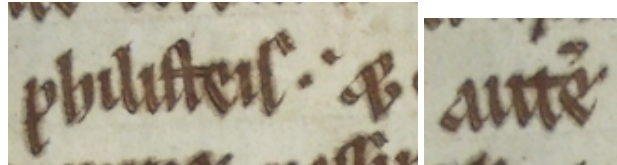
While the hands are usually separate from each other, there are cases of overlap. The antiphon *Caritas pater est gratia* was begun by the main music scribe who ended after the incipit, and the rest of the chant was picked up by scribe C; its verse,

⁵⁸ MPO, Fr 5398 and Fr 22015. The former was used to wrap Småland county administrative accounts, while the latter wrapped fishing records for Simpervarp, a town near Kalmar.

Figure 41. Br 166 (Fr 5398 and Fr 22015)



a. Text hand, with *punctus versus* (Fr 22015, fol. 1r)



b. *Punctus elevatus* and Ampersand, and abbreviation stroke on **n** (Fr 5398, fol. 1r).



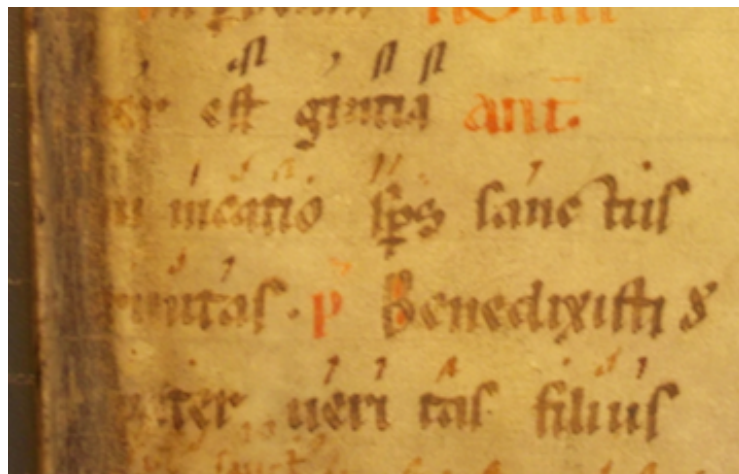
c. Scribe A: virga (no punctum), pes, clivis, scandicus, climacus, torculus, quilisma.



d. Scribe B: virga, punctum, pes, clivis (no scandicus), climacus, torculus, quilisma, cephalicus.



e. Scribe C: virga, punctum, pes, clivis, scandicus, climacus, torculus, quilisma, three liquescents.



f. Selection of Fr 5398, fol. 1r, *Caritas pater est gratia*.

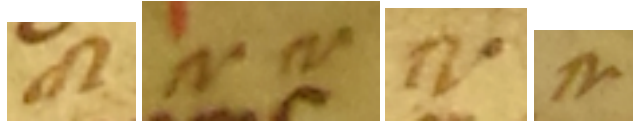
Benedixisti domine terram tuam, was also copied by scribe C except for the incipit, which was left blank (Figure 41f). It would not be altogether surprising if the hands alternated back and forth, with each scribe completing a chant and then starting off the next chant for the next scribe; however, they do not alternate in this way. The change in hands occurs both times at the incipit, with the main music scribe starting the chant and music scribe C completing the rest of the chant; neither hand carries over from the previous chant. This layering of hands could have occurred in a number of ways. If the main scribe and scribe C worked together, with the main scribe as the mentor or project leader, he may have started *Caritas pater* to get the other scribe started, and the other scribe mistakenly skipped over the incipit of the verse thinking that the main scribe would go back and provide that as well. However, none of the other chants copied by either scribe are divided in this way: all of the scribes otherwise copied out their own chants in full, making the teacher-student model less convincing. Likewise, scribe C could have added his own neumes at a later date, but this does not explain why he chose to skip the incipit of *Benedixisti domine*.

Both of the surviving bifolios were originally quite close to each other in the manuscript—Fr 22015 covers the first Sunday after Pentecost, and Fr 5398 includes Trinity Sunday and the third Sunday after Pentecost—though they did not belong to the same gathering. Scribe C worked on both gatherings, as his hand appears in both Fr 22015 and Fr 5398, but scribe A's hand only occurs in Fr 5398 and scribe B's hand only occurs in Fr 22015. In all, there is no way of telling the order or context in which the music was copied by each of the three scribal hands. Only two folios each survive for either gathering, and it is entirely possible these impressions are wholly inaccurate: scribe A may have copied more chants as incipits only, to be completed by someone else; each scribe may have worked on any or all of the gatherings; in fact, there may have been more than three music scribes, and scribe A may not have been the principal scribe at all. With the evidence at hand, however, at least one reasonable suggestion can be made: the music in Br 166 was copied by at least two hands of a similar style (scribes A and B), both of which may have been involved in the initial production of the manuscript; moreover, a number of chants in Br 166 had their music copied in full, at least one with incipits only (though filled in later by another hand), and some were skipped entirely; later, either during production, as a final editorial procedure or after the book was already in use, another scribal hand, unrelated to the others, went back and

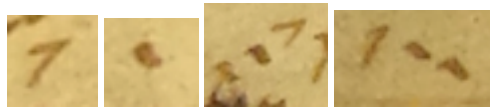
Figure 42. Br 446 + Br 664 + Fr 5398



a. Pes and clivis (Fr 27165).



b. Torculus and porrectus (round and square) (Fr 27165).



c. Virga, punctum, scandicus and climacus.



d. Quilisma, liquescent virga, pressus, and cephalicus.

added to the manuscript, systematically completing chants that had previously been skipped or were given incipits only.

Mi 446 + Mi 664 + Fr 5429

This set of five fragments, all from various Småland accounts of 1556-57, were part of a twelfth-century missal copied in a German text script and with German neumes.⁵⁹ The music scribe's hand used a combination of a round and square neumes: a round pes and a square clivis, but the porrectus was variably drawn based on the square clivis or the round clivis; he always drew the torculus 'square', combining the shapes of the round pes and square clivis, even though the strokes he used to create the clivis portion of the neume correspond to the round clivis instead of the square clivis (i.e., one stroke, up-and-down, rather than a downstroke and another stroke right-and-down) (Figures 42a and 42b). The round pes often borders on the ladle shape, and was

⁵⁹ MPO, Fr 5429, Fr 27165, Fr 27166, Fr 27551, Fr 27552.

incorporated into the torculus and quilisma as expected. The scribe drew the virga as a downstroke with a very pronounced flag, creating a prominent 'figure 7' shape (Figure 42c). He incorporated the virga without alteration in the scandicus and climacus, but in the porrectus he turned the flag the other way to the right, because that line of the porrectus was created with an upstroke rather than a downstroke, and turning the flag to the left would require pushing the nib back away from the direction of writing. He used both the virga and occasionally the punctum as stand-alone neumes.

The scribe had a somewhat unusual selection of neumes in his lexicon: he never used the quilisma by itself, for example, but only when attached to a clivis/torculus; he used the pressus minor, always as a standalone neume; and he also used two liquescent types infrequently, for the virga and the cephalicus (Figure 42d). The shape he used for the cephalicus is the same square shape that was used by music scribe B of Br 166.⁶⁰

Fr 5792

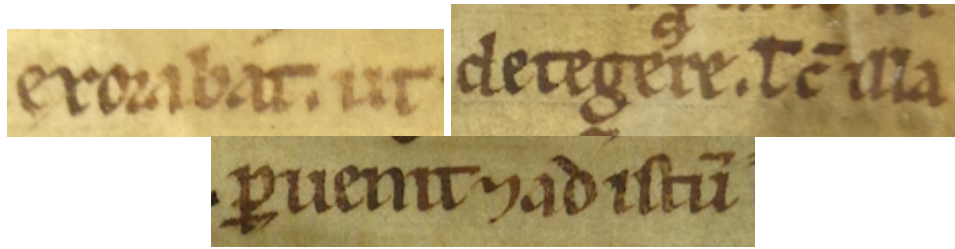
Fr 5792 is an isolated fragment of a twelfth-century breviary that was used to wrap Småland accounts in 1566.⁶¹ It was laid out in two columns using a 1-2-1 ruling scheme for the bounding lines. The drypoint horizontal rulings extend across the bounding lines, ending in the margins of each folio; the prickings for the horizontal lines were made in the inner and outer margins of the sheet. The character of the textual script resembles some of the features seen in Br 177: broad, vertical and rounded letters; sharply angled serifs, with horizontal strokes drawn straight rather than wavy, and parallel to the writing line; the *punctus* as the only symbol for all punctuation (Figure 43a). The music was copied by a single hand, in a southern German style with both round and square forms of the pes and clivis (Figure 43b). He drew his virga in two ways, interchangeably: either in two separate strokes, with a broad and square flag and thin downstroke, or as one stroke without lifting the nib, and sometimes adding a short foot (Figure 43c). This second form resembles the virga in Br 771 and Codex 878, two sources that show a full adoption of the ladle shape into their neumes.

The music scribe of Fr 5792 also seems to have been influenced by the ladle shape, and by the notational philosophies that seem to have accompanied it, though not to the same extremes as the scribes of Br 771 and Codex 878. Even though he drew the

⁶⁰ See Figure 41b.

⁶¹ MPO, Fr 5792.

Figure 43. Fr 5792



a. Example of text script.



b. Round pes, square pes, round clivis and square clivis.



c. Virga, scandicus, climacus.



d. Torculus, porrectus, quilisma.



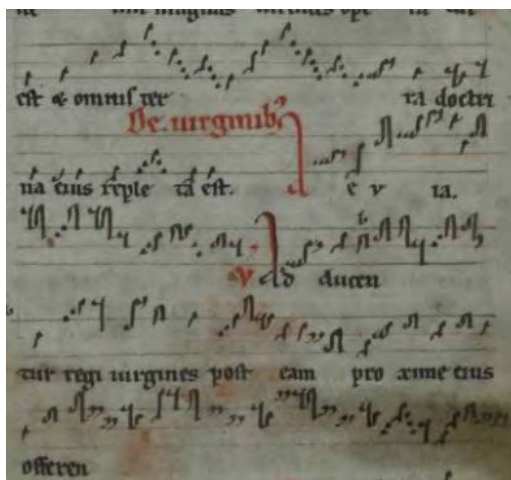
e. Cephalicus, anculus, virga strata, pes quassus (square and round), pressus minor and salicus.

square and round pes interchangeably, he favoured the round form, and it clearly shows influence from the ladle shape, though perhaps without the same stylized flourish as the Codex 878 scribe. The shape was also incorporated into his quilisma and also his torculus, whose overall shape is taken from the round clivis rather than the square clivis—the scribe also seems to have favoured the round clivis in general, as he used that form more often as well (Figure 43d). Interestingly, he used his one-stroke virga when writing it as part of the scandicus, but used the two-stroke virga when writing the climacus (Figure 43c). He still used the punctum as a standalone neume regularly, and he retained a comparatively wide variety of liquescent and special neumes that for the most part had been abandoned by other scribes seen in these sources, including the salicus, anculus, virga strata and two forms of pes quassus (Figure 43e).

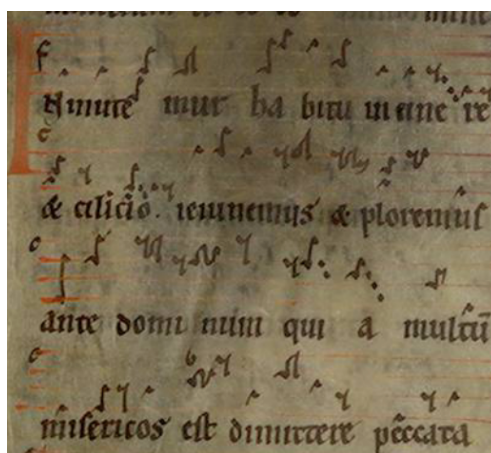
Appendix B

Plates

Plate 1. Selections of notation from fragments with proposed German attributions and gothic notation



Ant 271 (Fr 29692, fol. 1v)

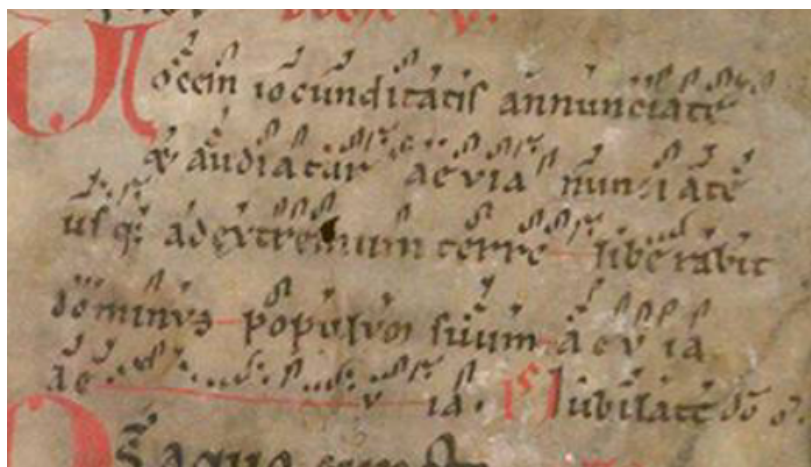


Fr 7137, fol. 1r

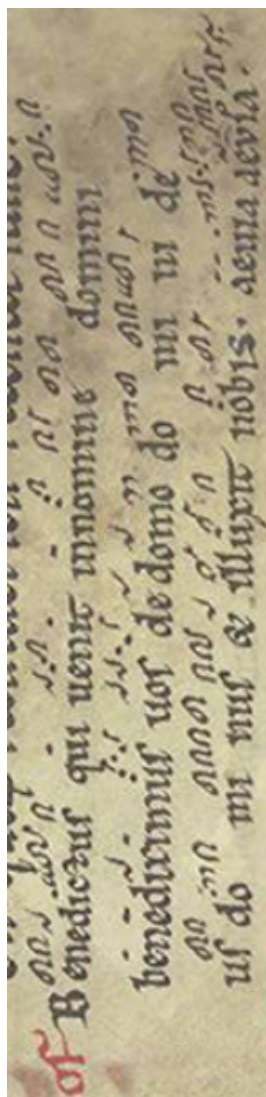


Fr 213, verso

Plate 2. Selections of notation from fragments with proposed German attributions and neumatic notation

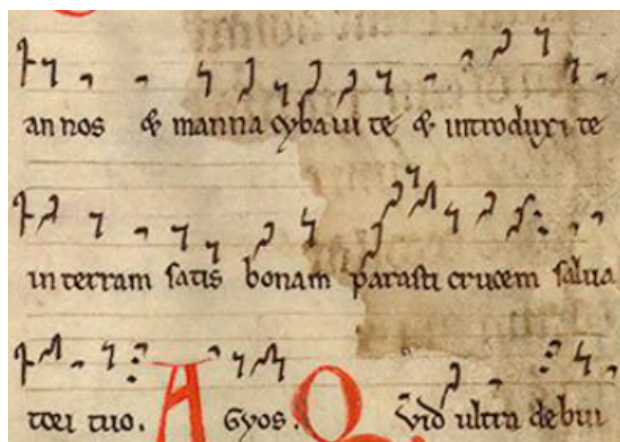


Fr 290, fol. 2v

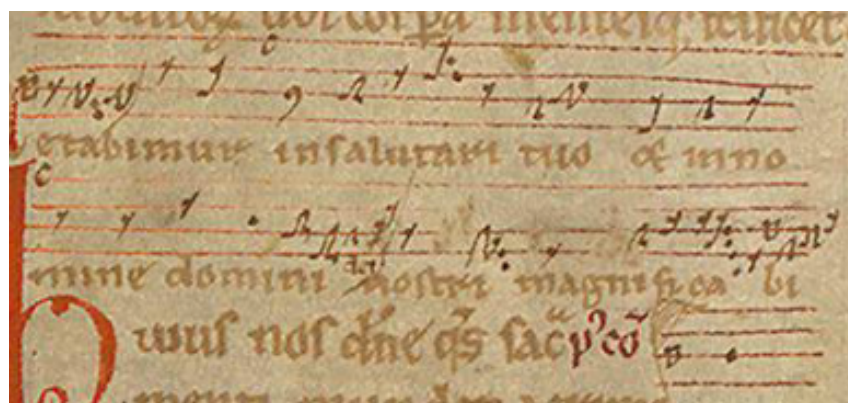


Fr 1217, fol. 1r

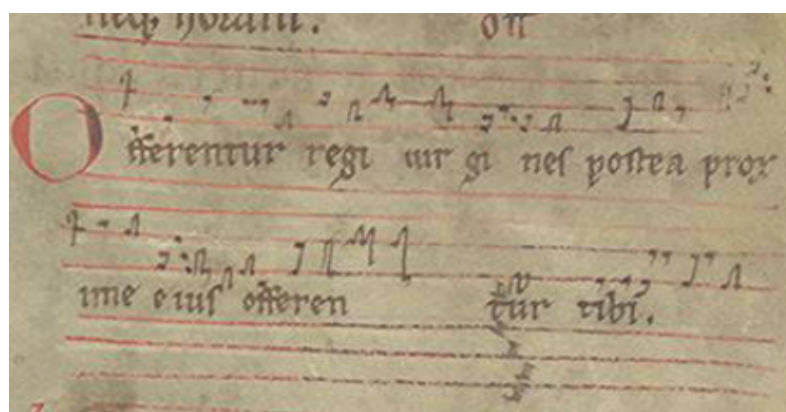
Plate 3. Examples of notation from fragments with proposed English attributions and neumatic notation



Codex 70 (Fr 449, fol. 1r)

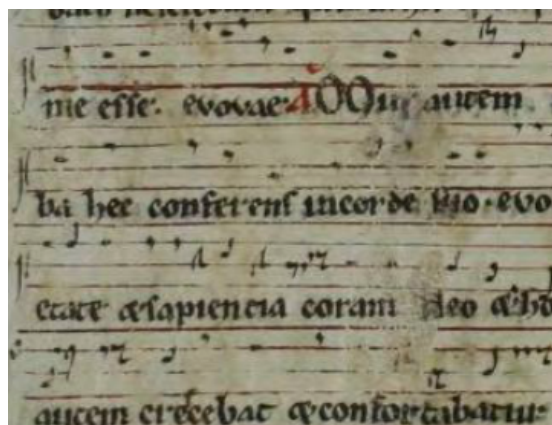


Fr 443, fol. 1r

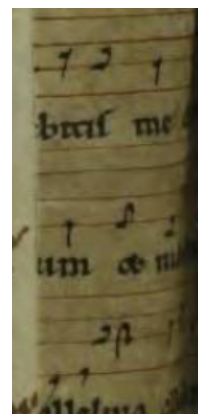


Fr 1187, fol. 1r

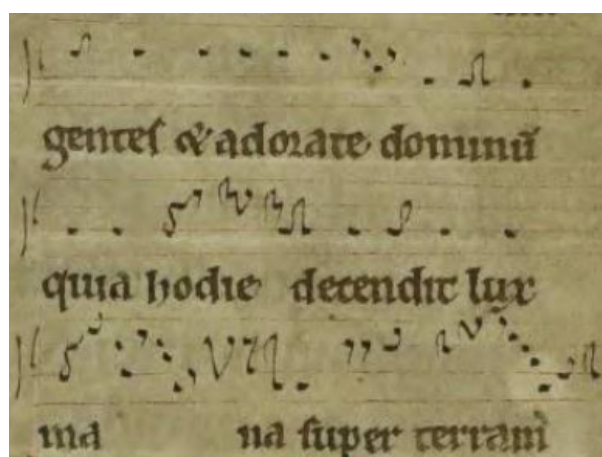
Plate 4. Examples of notation in fragments with proposed English attributions and square or 'Neum/Quad' notation



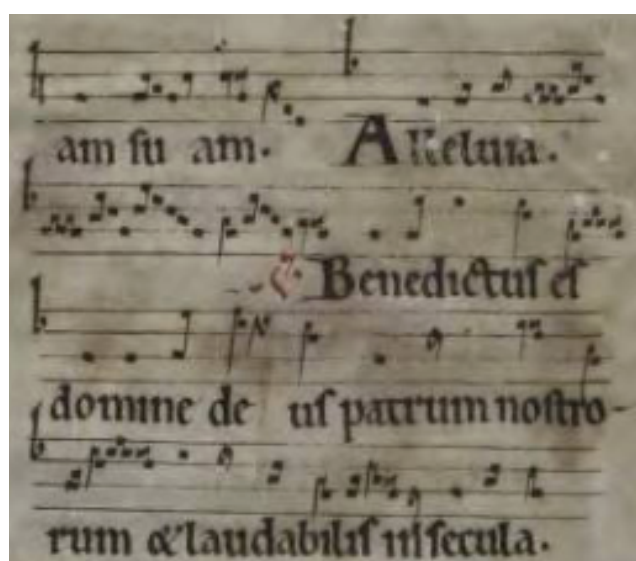
Ant 86 (Fr 20247, fol. 1v)



Fr 5477, fol. 1r



Fr 5803, fol. 1r

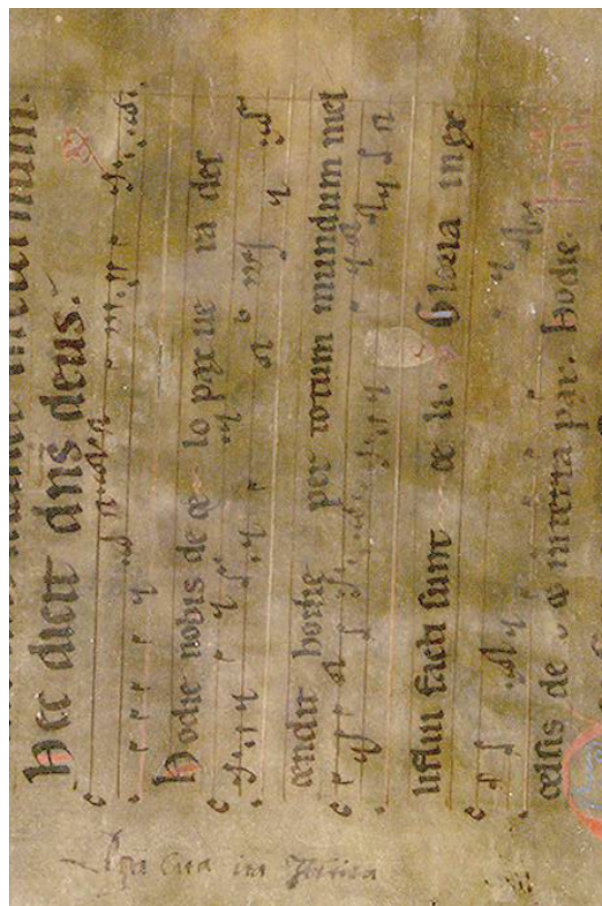


Codex 892 (Fr 6547, fol. 1v)

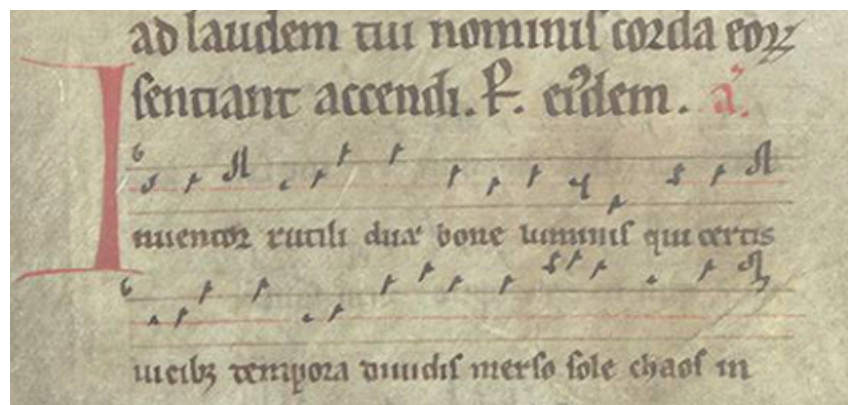
Plate 5. Examples of music staves which are not drawn in four red lines



Mi 211 (Fr 26627, recto)

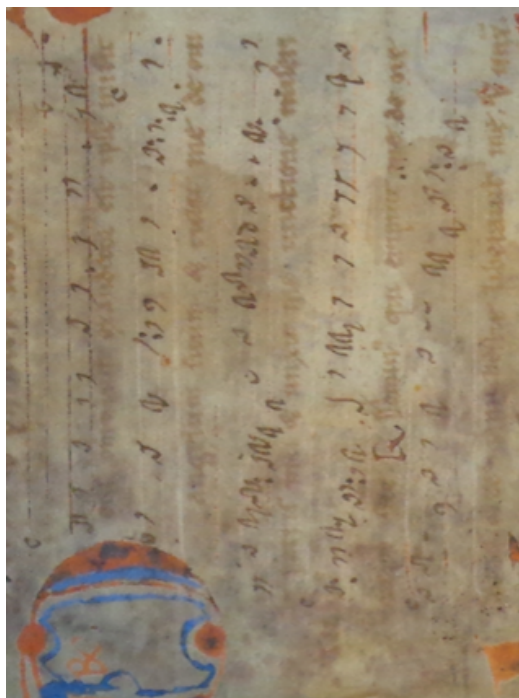


Fr 213, fol. 1v

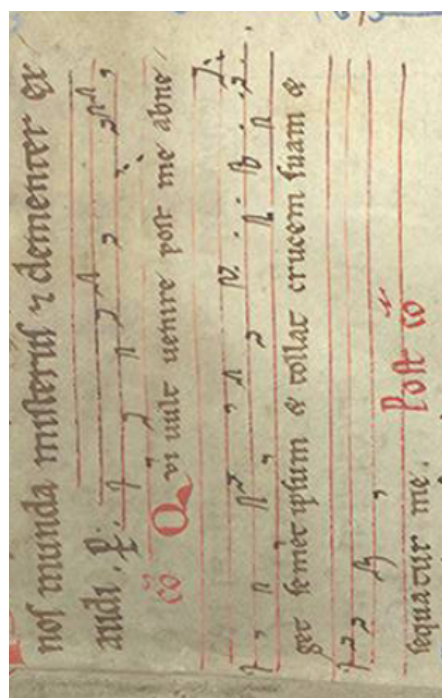


Mi 64 (Fr 30992, fol. 1r)

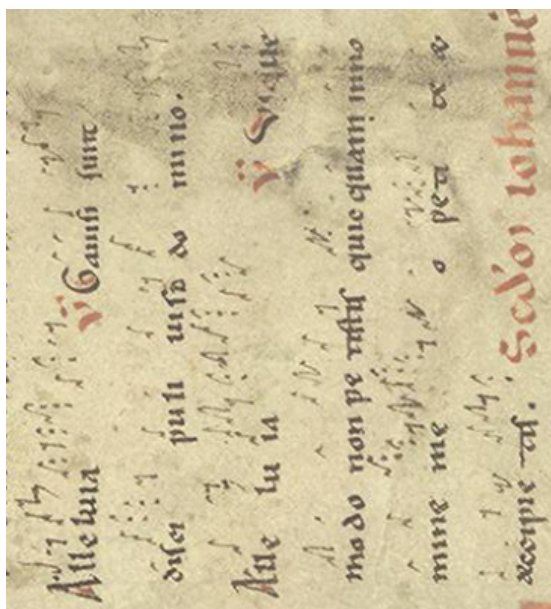
Plate 6. Selections of notation in fragments from Västergötland accounts with heightened neumatic notation



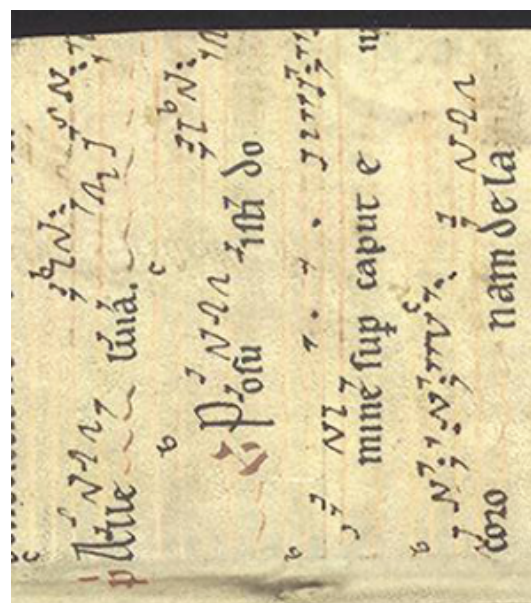
Br 1305 (Fr 23700, verso)



Fr 1187, fol. 1r

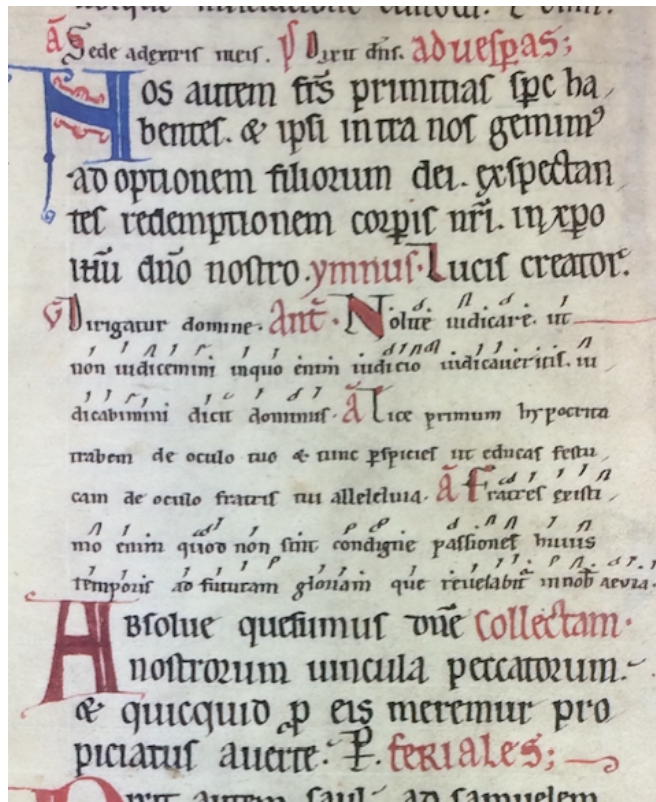


Fr 1600, recto

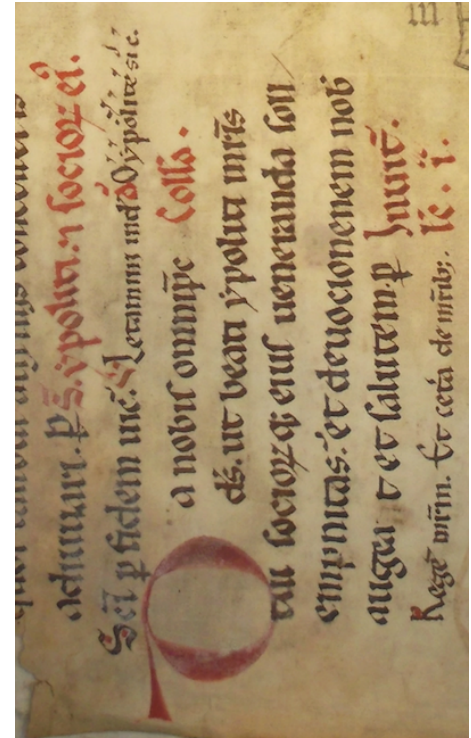


Fr 1896, fol. 1v

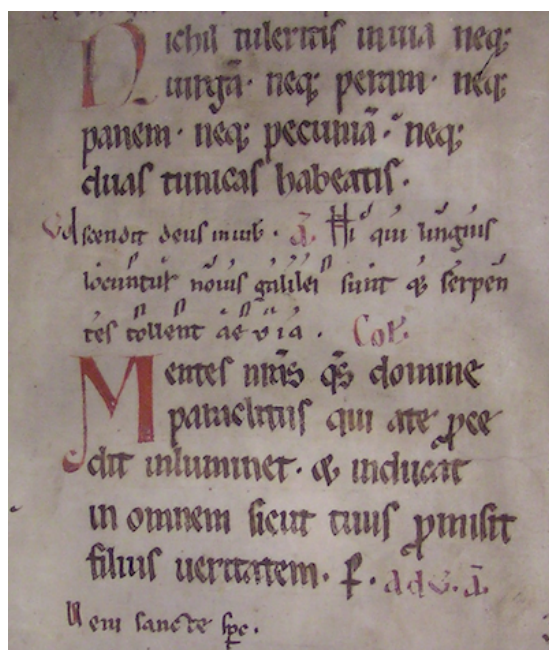
Plate 7. Selections of notation in fragments from Västergötland accounts with unheightened neumatic notation (Br 307, Br 576, Br 1246, Br 1312)



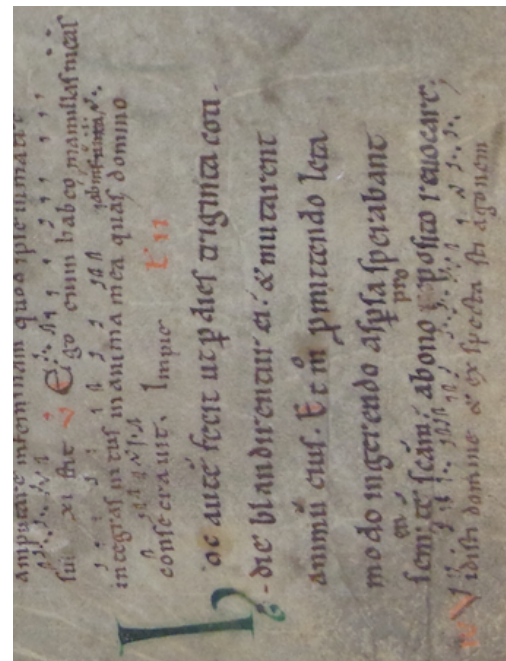
Br 307 (Fr 22289, fol. 2v)



Br 576 (Fr 22727, recto)

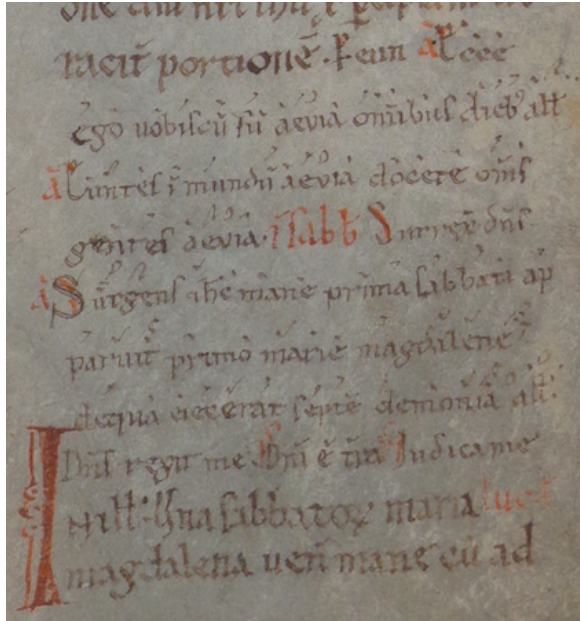


Br 1246 (Fr 23625)

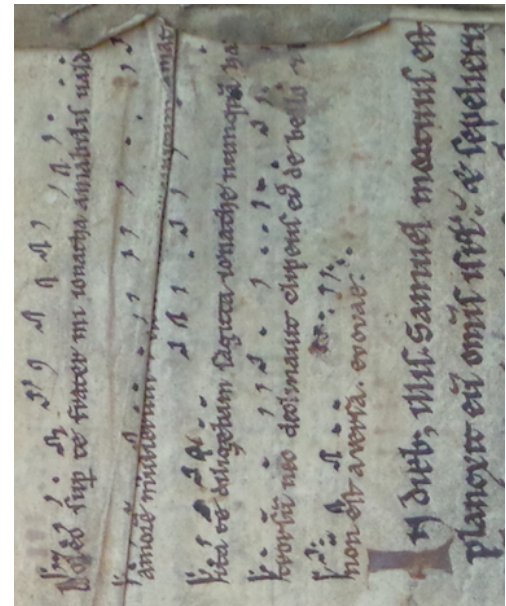


Br 1312 (Fr 23709, verso)

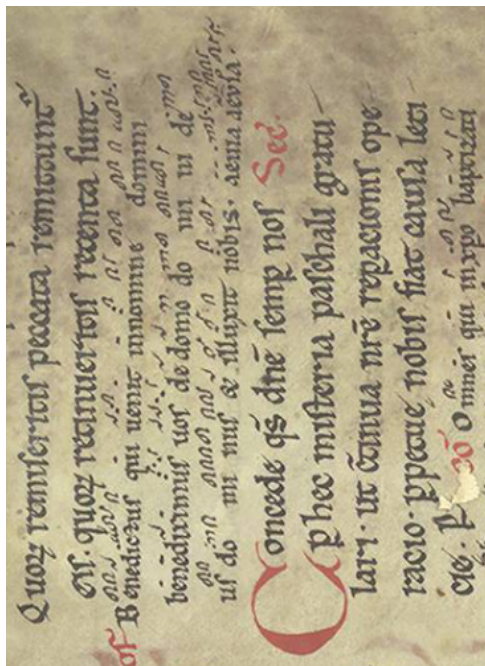
Plate 8. Selections of notation in fragments from Västergötland accounts with unheightened neumatic notation (Br 1317, Br 1913, Fr 1217, Fr 2214)



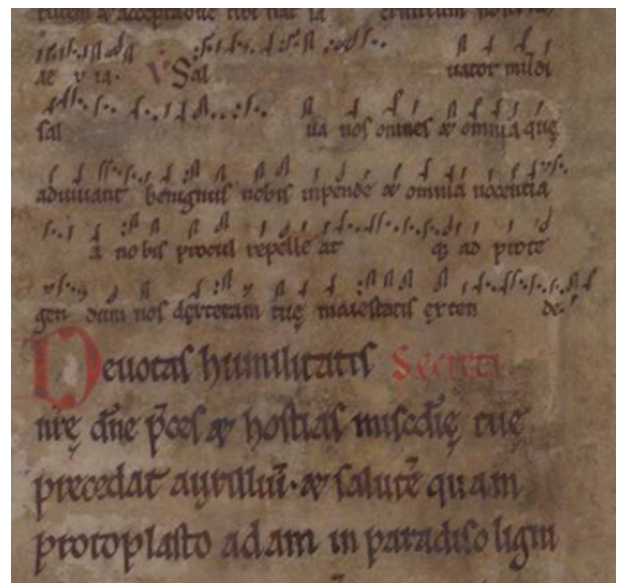
Br 1317 (Fr 23715, fol. 2r)



Br 1913 (Fr 24454, verso)

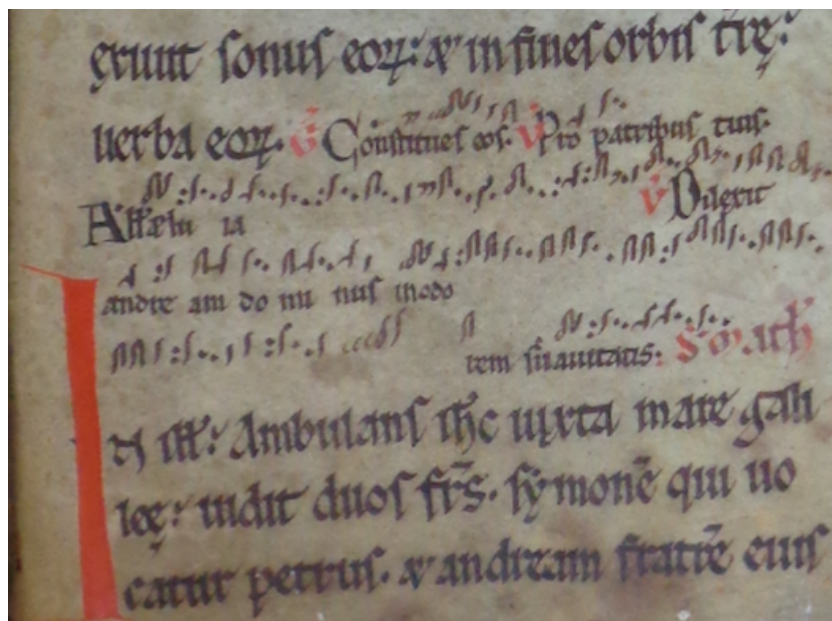


Fr 1217, fol. 1r

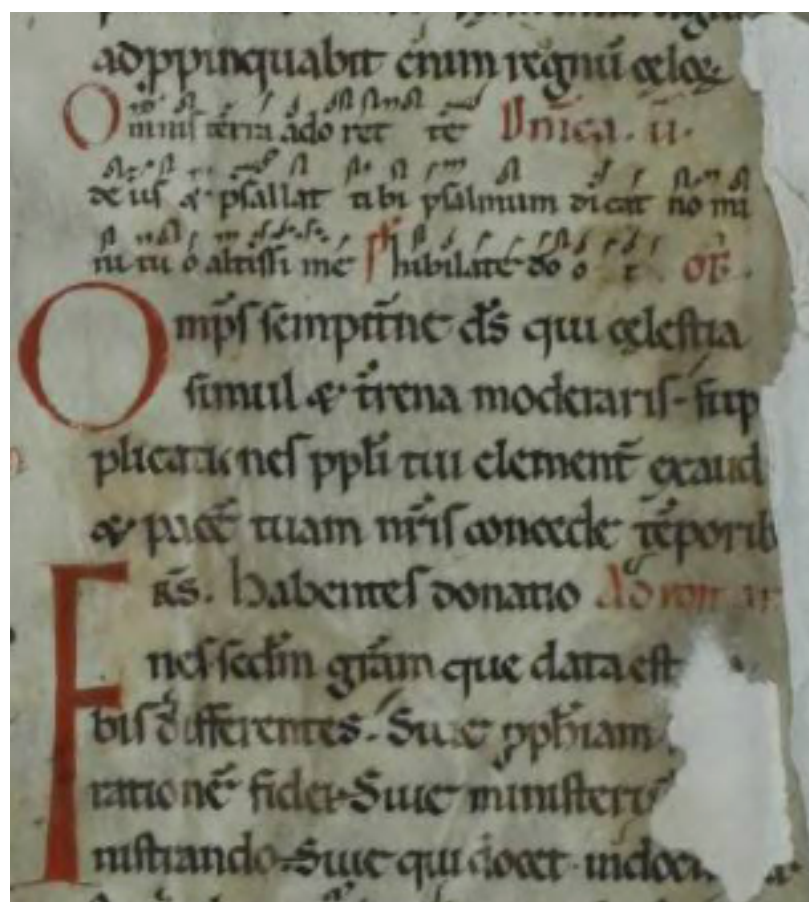


Fr 2214, fol. 2v

Plate 9. Selections of notation in fragments from Västergötland accounts with unheightened neumatic notation (Mi 455, Mi 459)



Mi 455 (Fr 27177, fol. 2r)

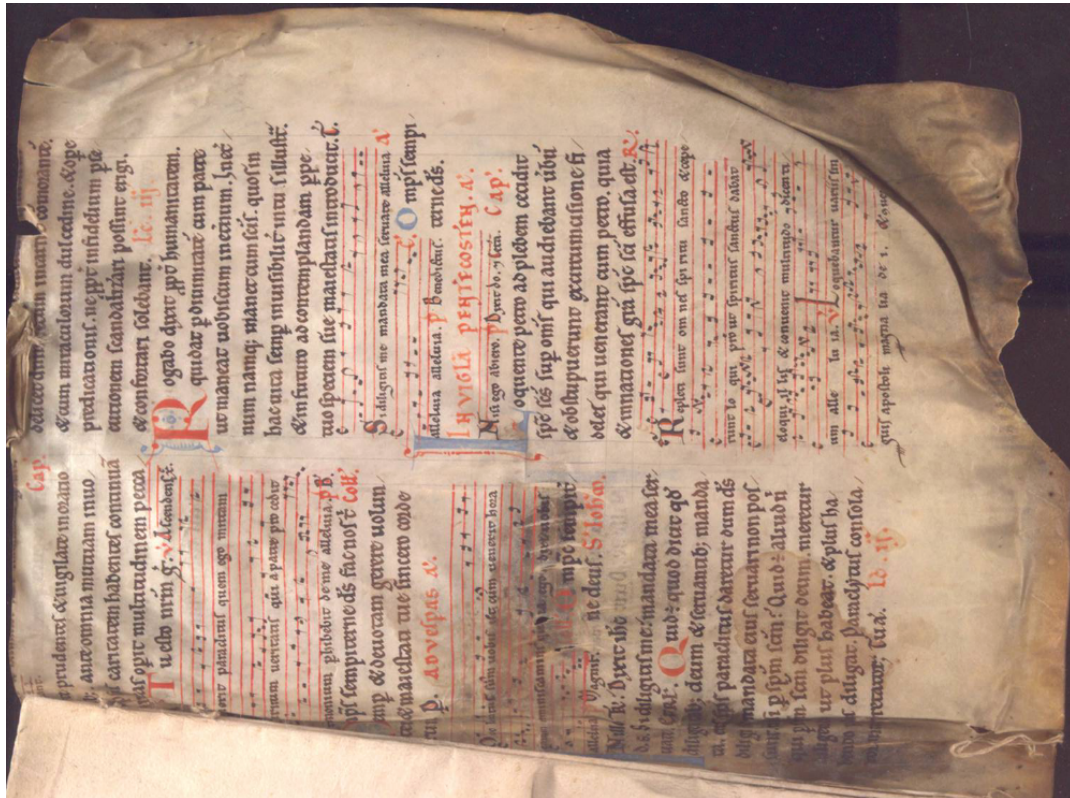


Mi 459 (Fr 27184, fol. 1r)

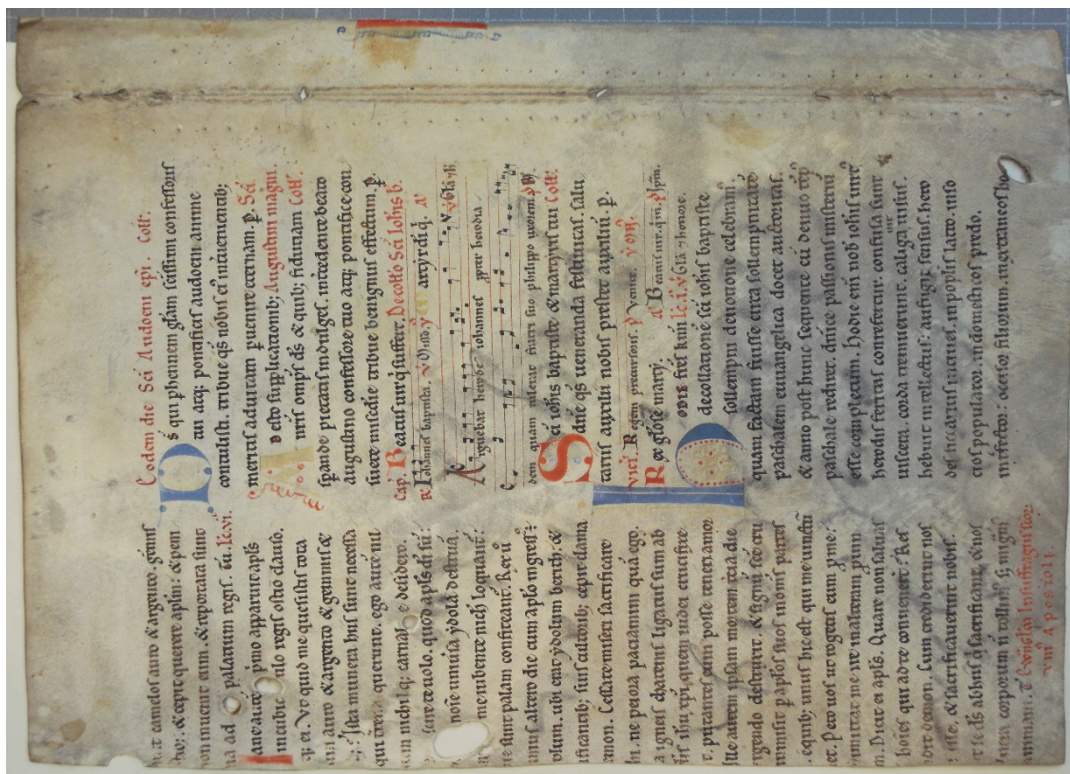
Plate 10. Ant 113 (Fr 20293, verso)



Plate 11. Br 12 + Codex 763 et al. (Fr 3008, fol. 2r and Fr 21718, fol. 2v)

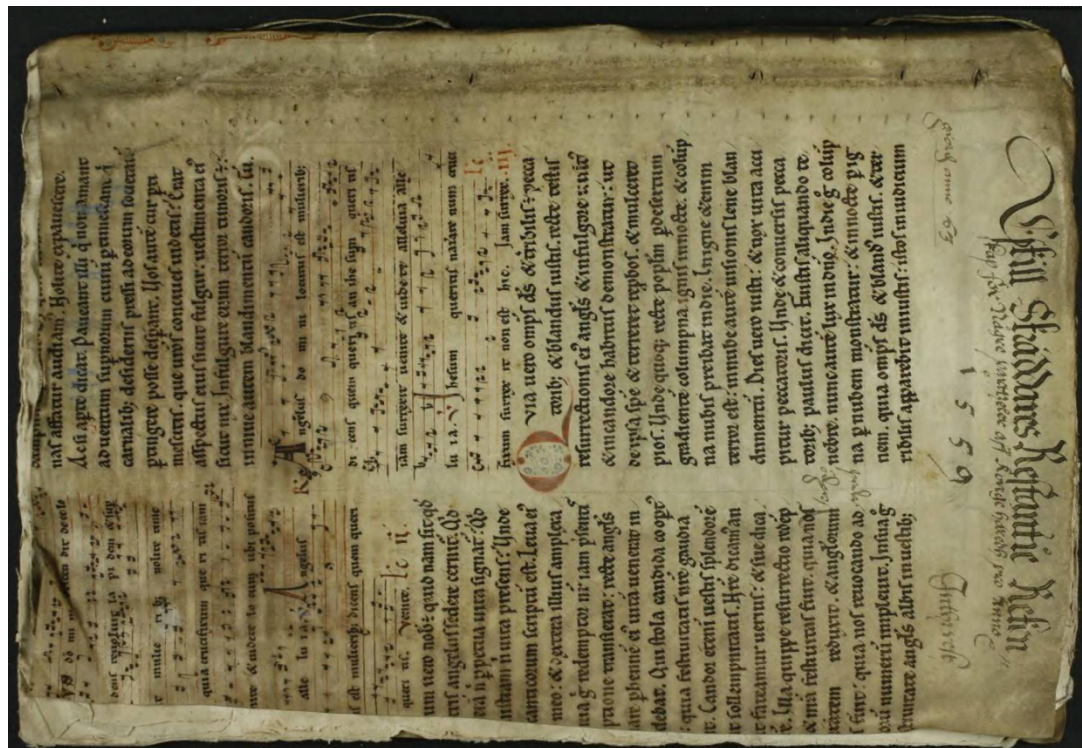


Fr 3008, fol. 2r

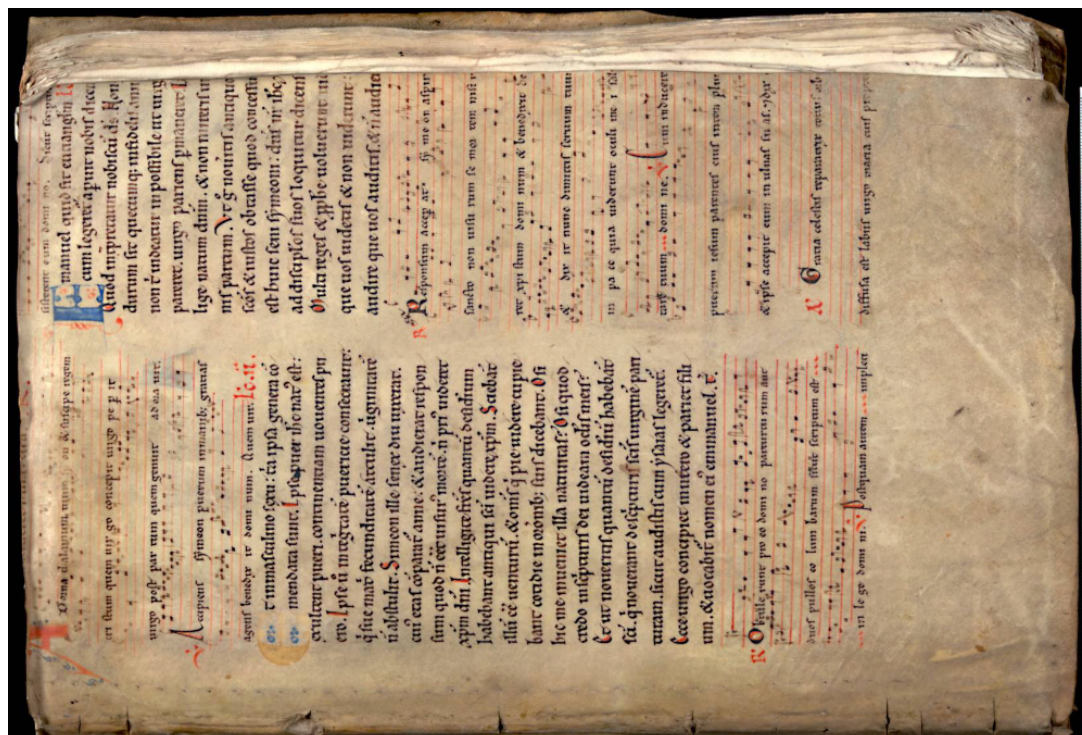


Fr 21718, fol. 2v

Plate 12. Br 12 + Codex 763 et al. (Fr 150, fol. 1r and Fr 5476, fol. 2v)

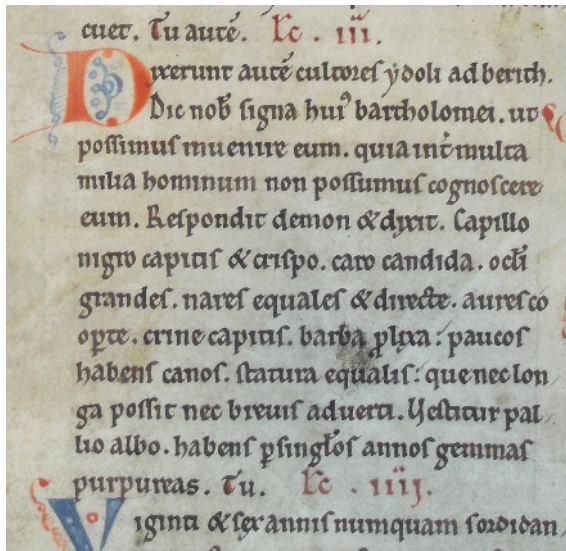


Fr 5476, fol. 2v

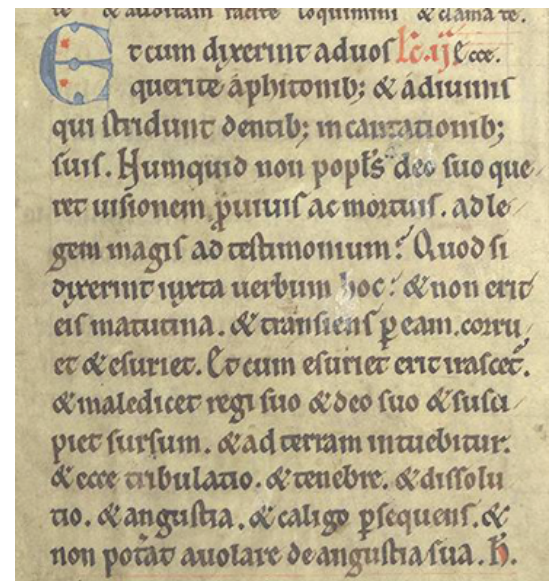


Fr 150, fol. 1r

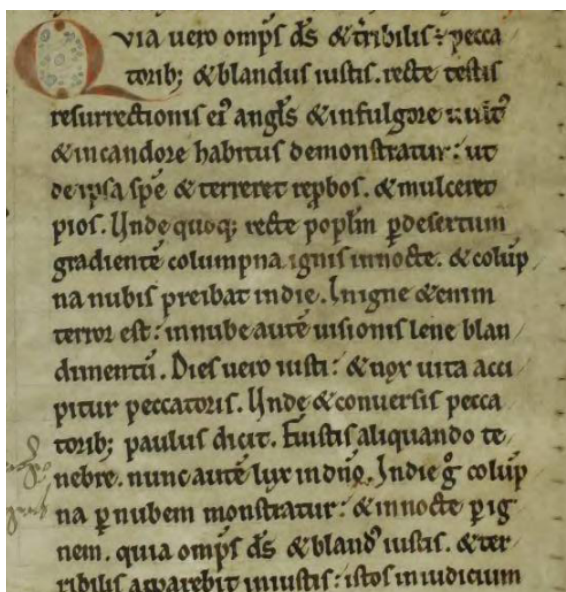
Plate 13. Br 12 + Codex 763 *et al.*, examples of text scribal hands



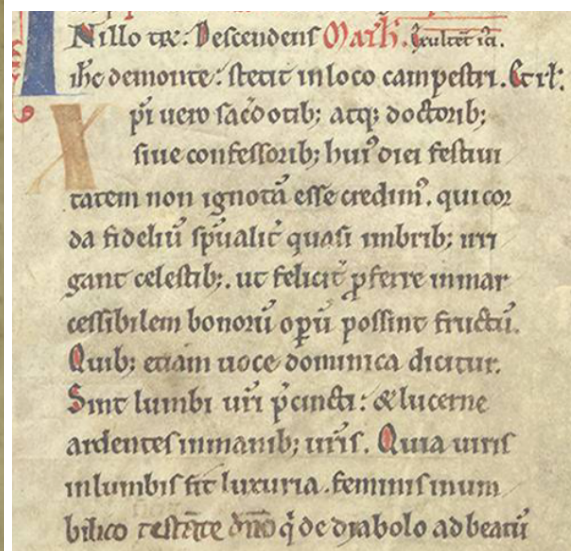
Fr 21718, fol. 1r (Br 12) (scribe A)



Fr 150, fol. 1r (Codex 763) (scribe A)



Fr 5476, fol. 2r (Codex 763) (scribe B)



Fr 8921, fol. 1r (Codex 763) (scribe C)

Plate 14. Br 144 (Fr 6052, fol. 1r)

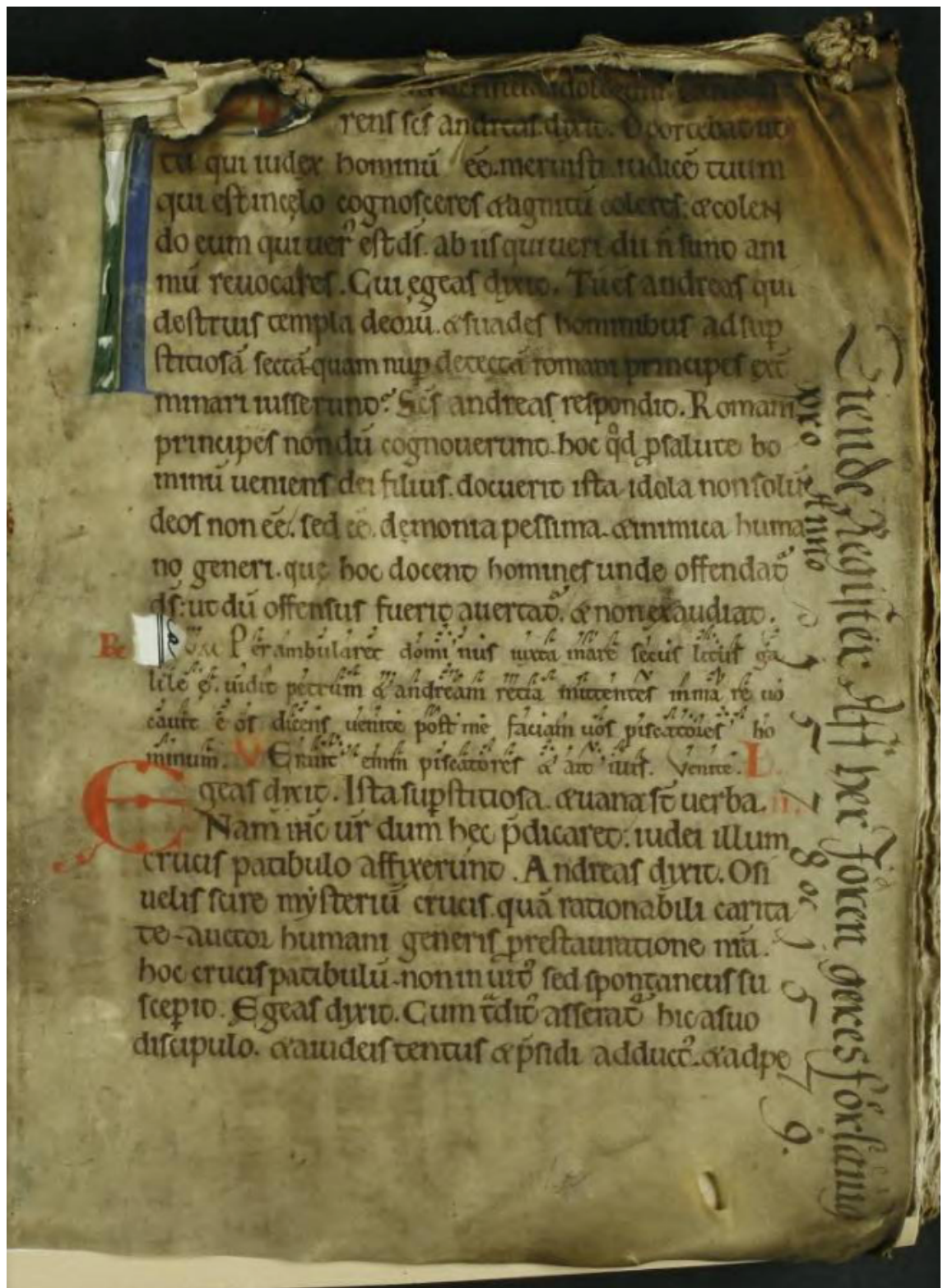


Plate 15. Br 260 (Fr 22206, fol. 2r)

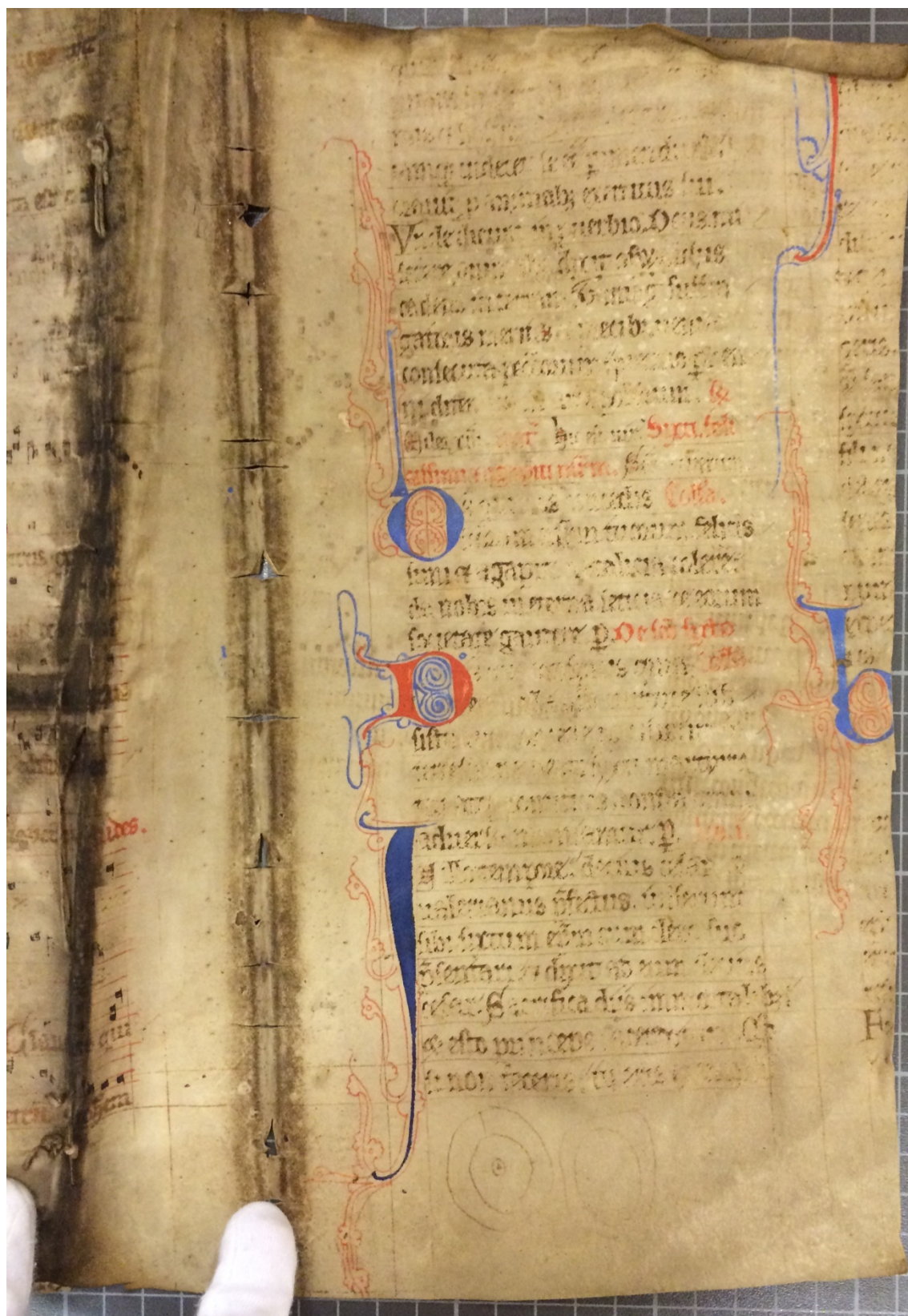
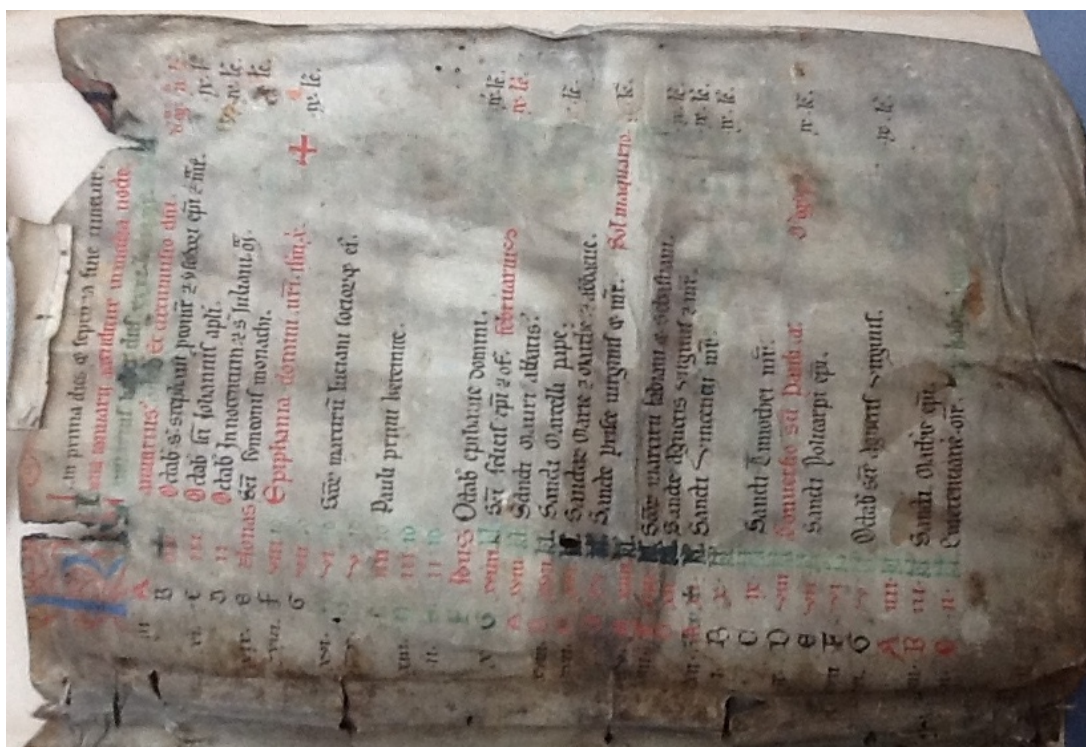
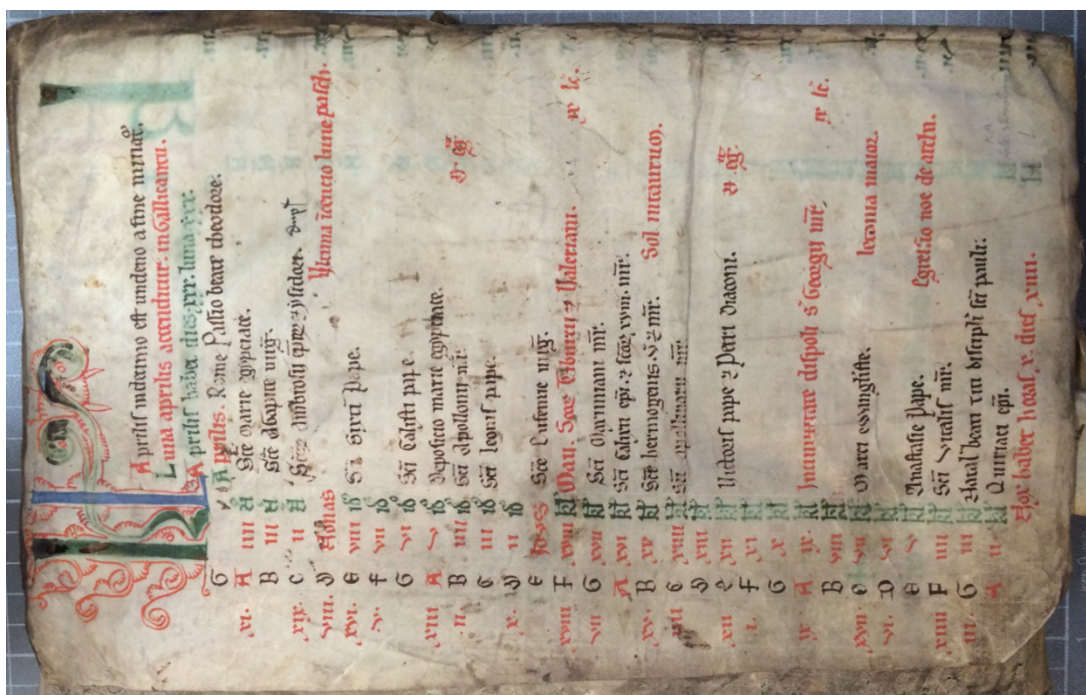


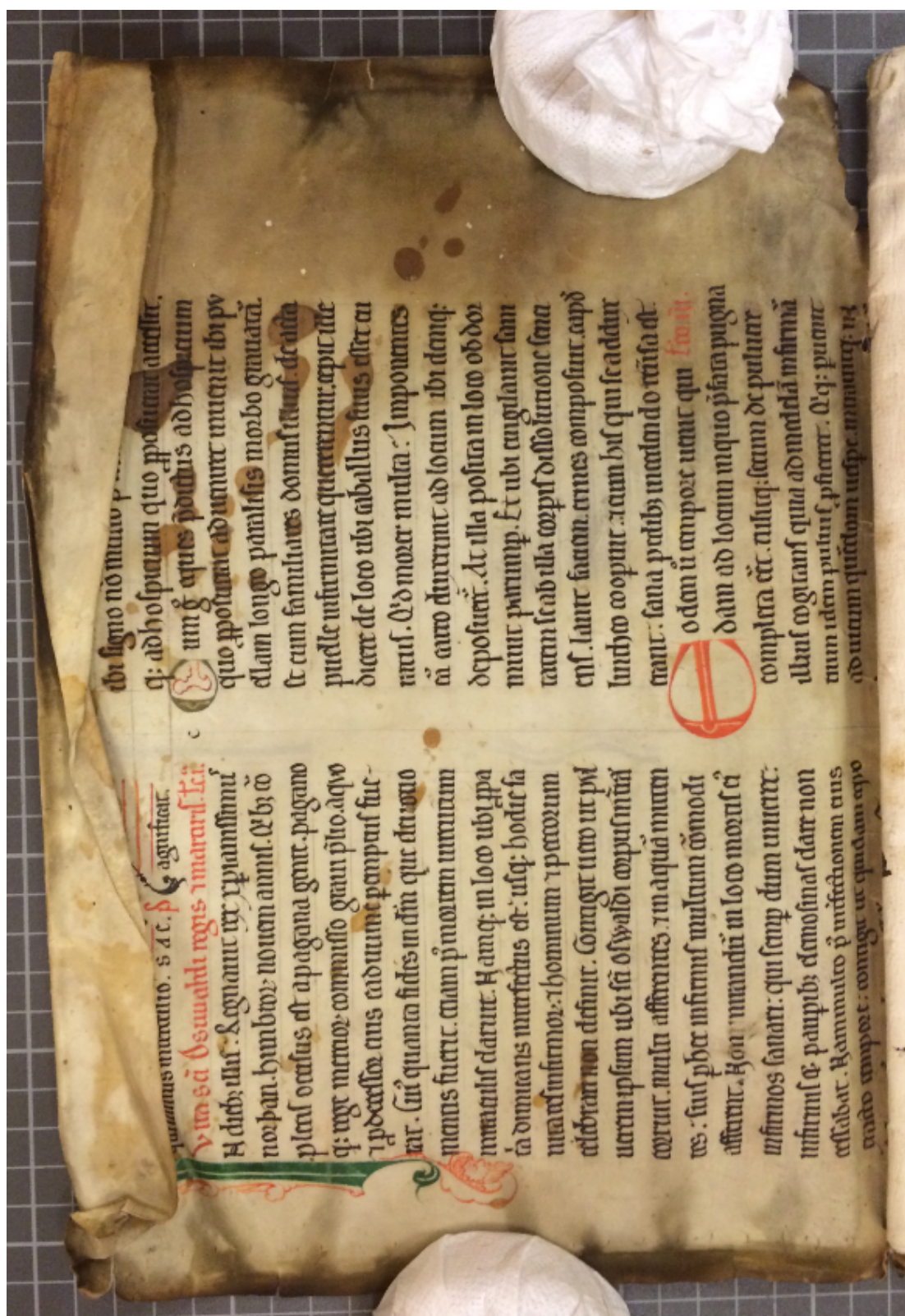
Plate 16. Br 303 + Kal 48, examples of calendar folios



Kal 48 (Fr 25638, fol. 1r)



Br 303 (Fr 22285, fol. 1v)



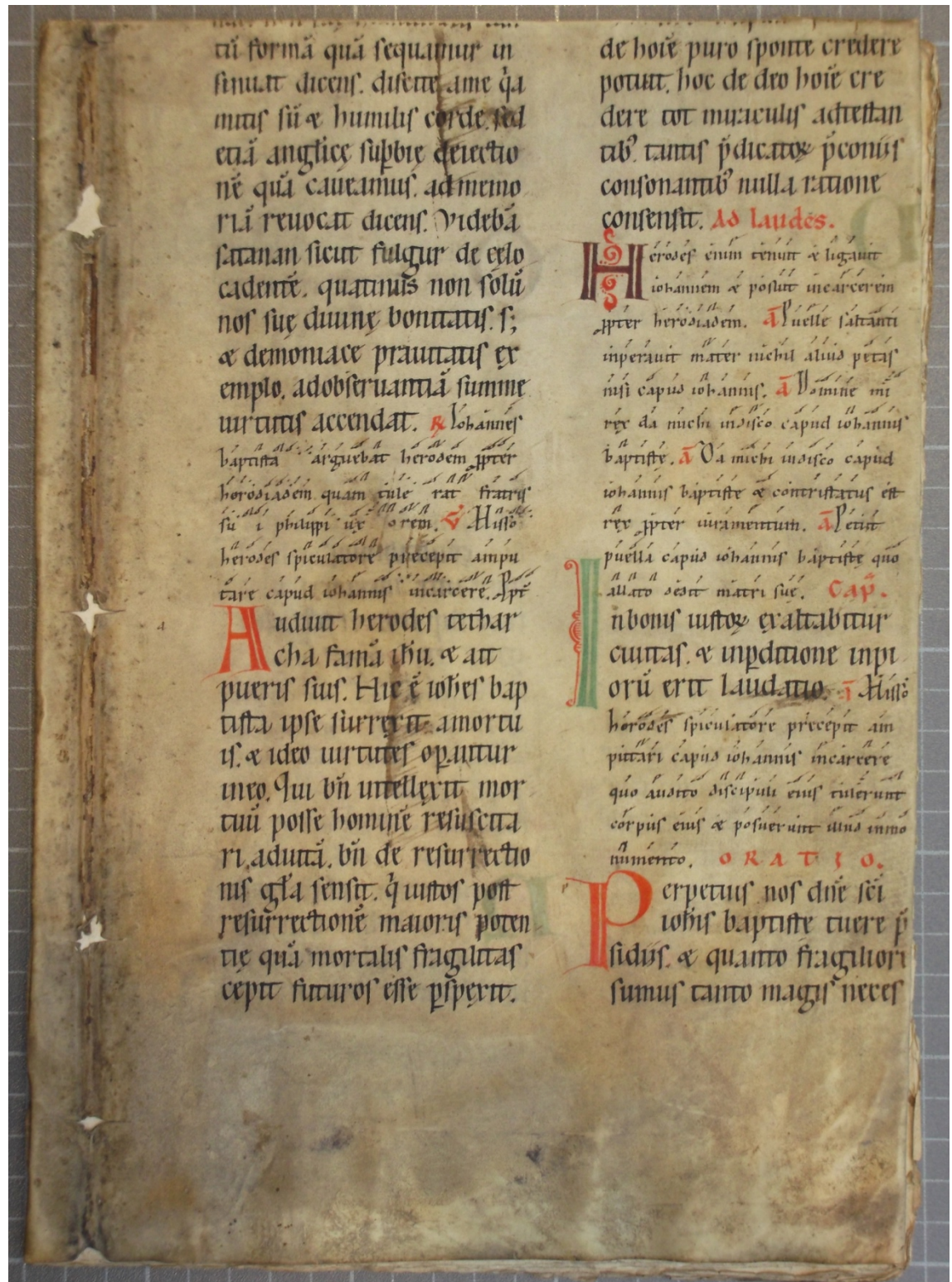
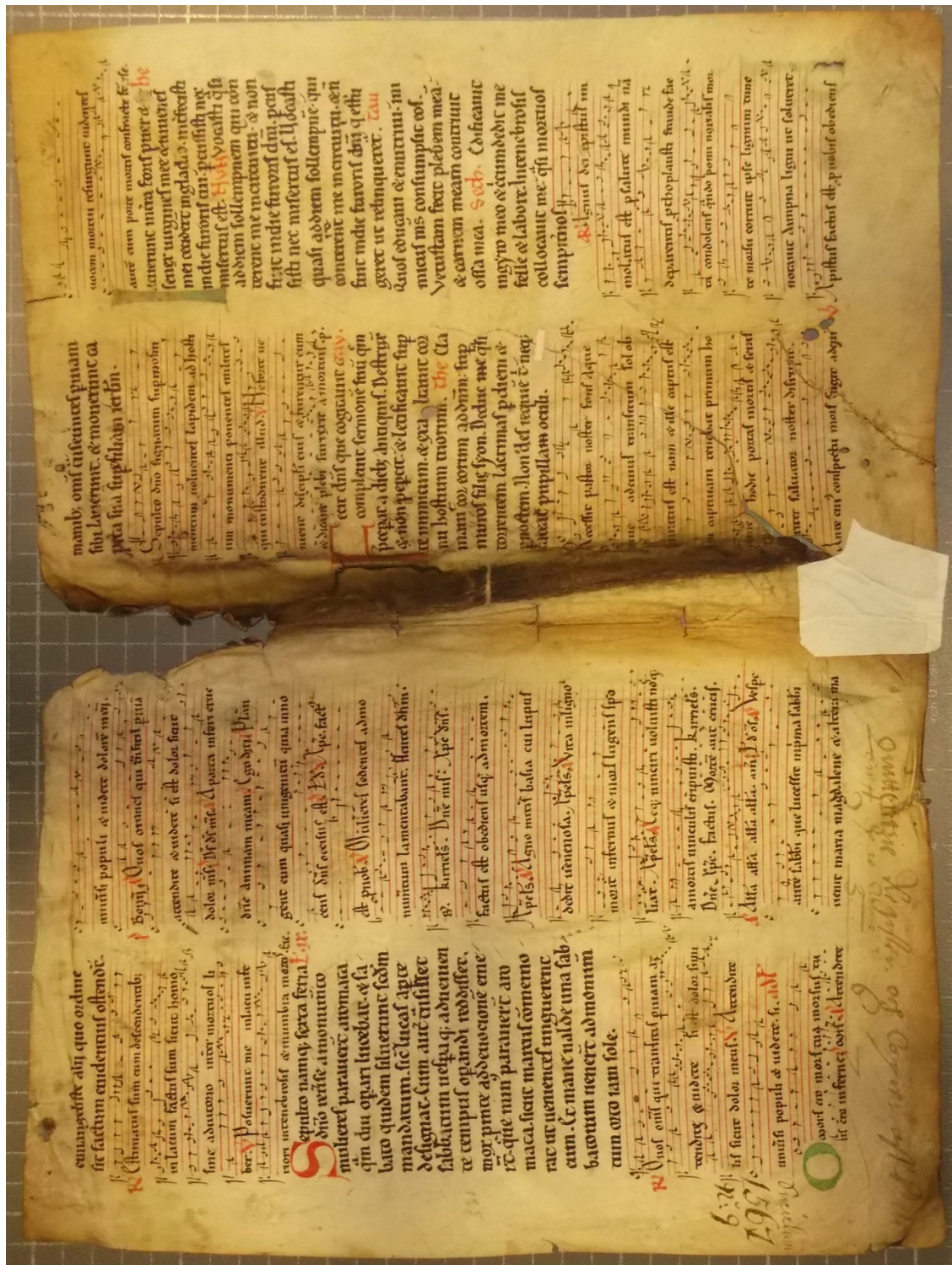


Plate 19. Br 1675 (Fr 24153, fols. 1r [right] and 2v [left])



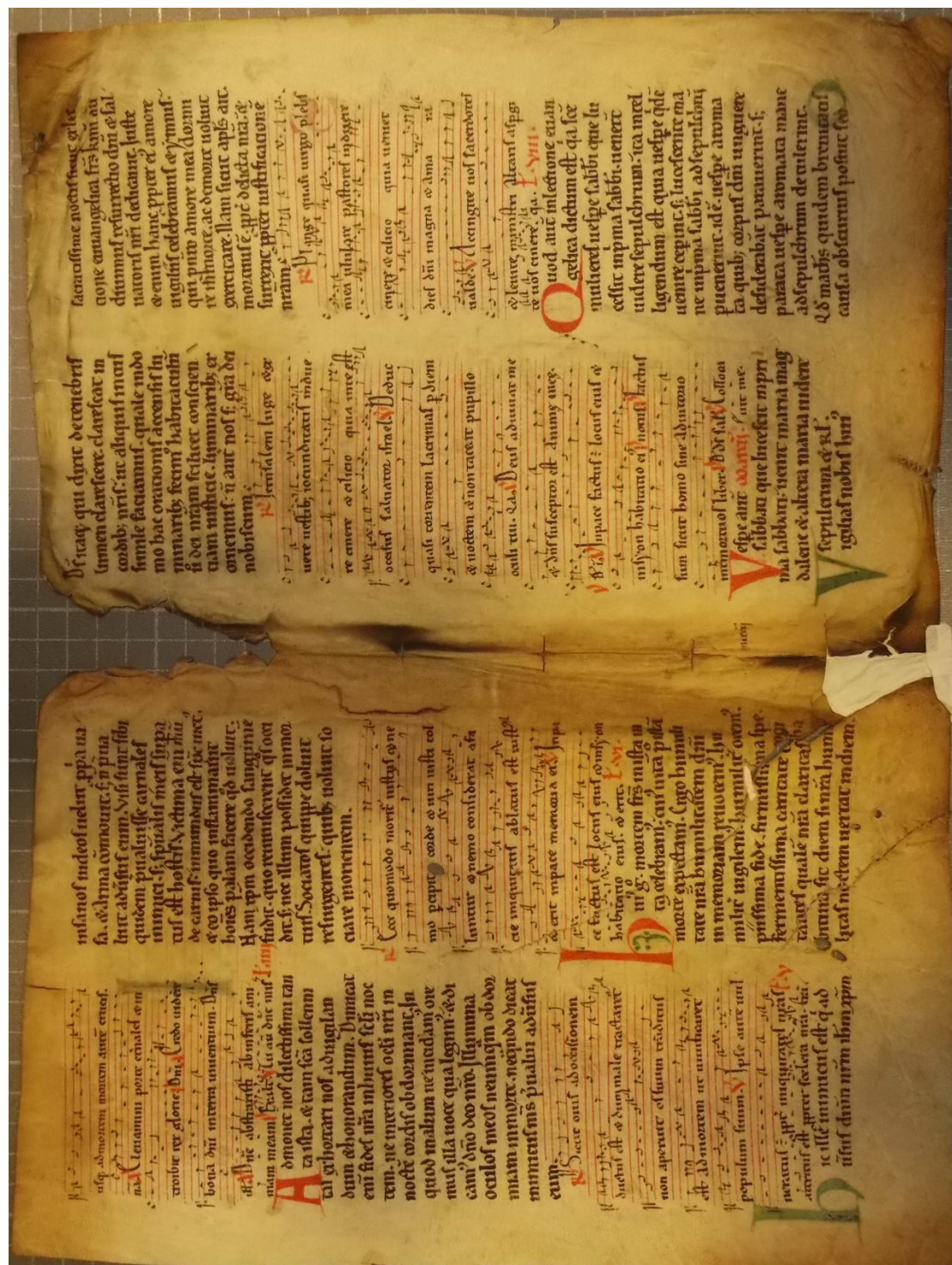
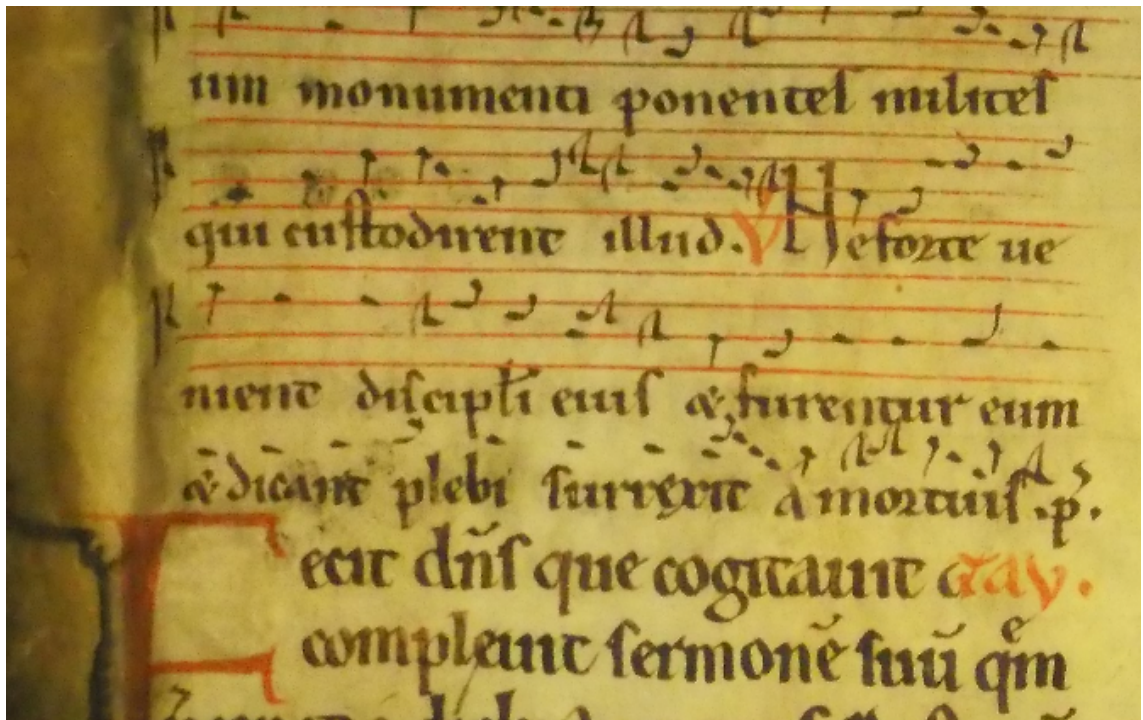
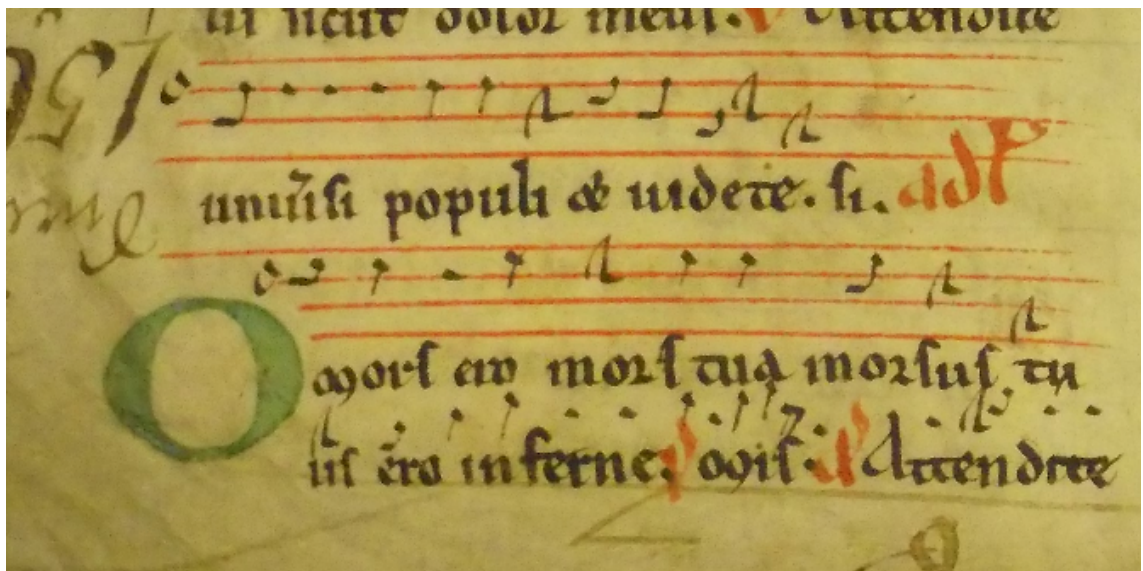


Plate 21. Br 1675 (Fr 24153, fols. 1r and 2v), examples of scribal hands



Responsory verse to the first lesson of matins, fol. 1r.



Beginning of lauds service, fol. 2v.

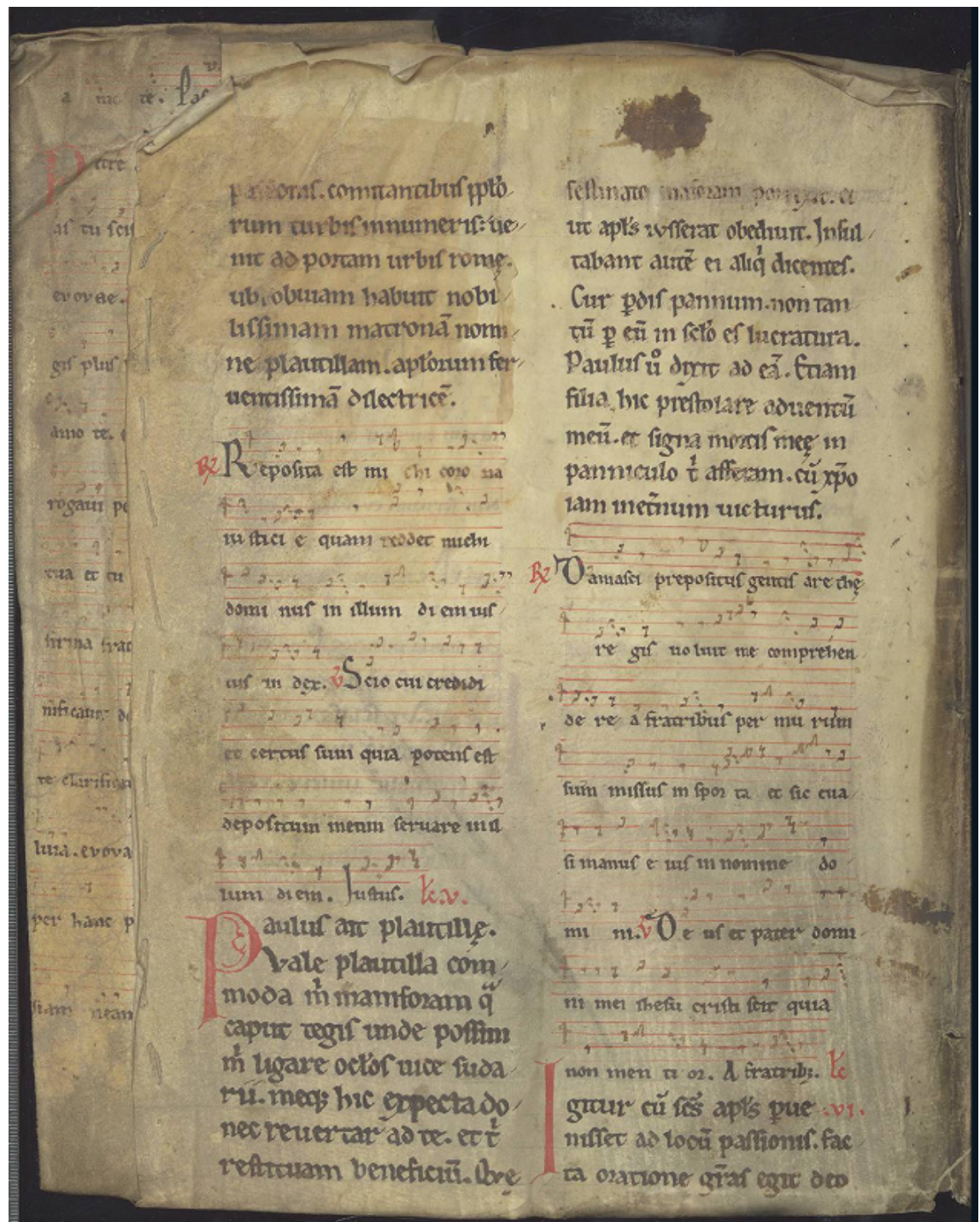
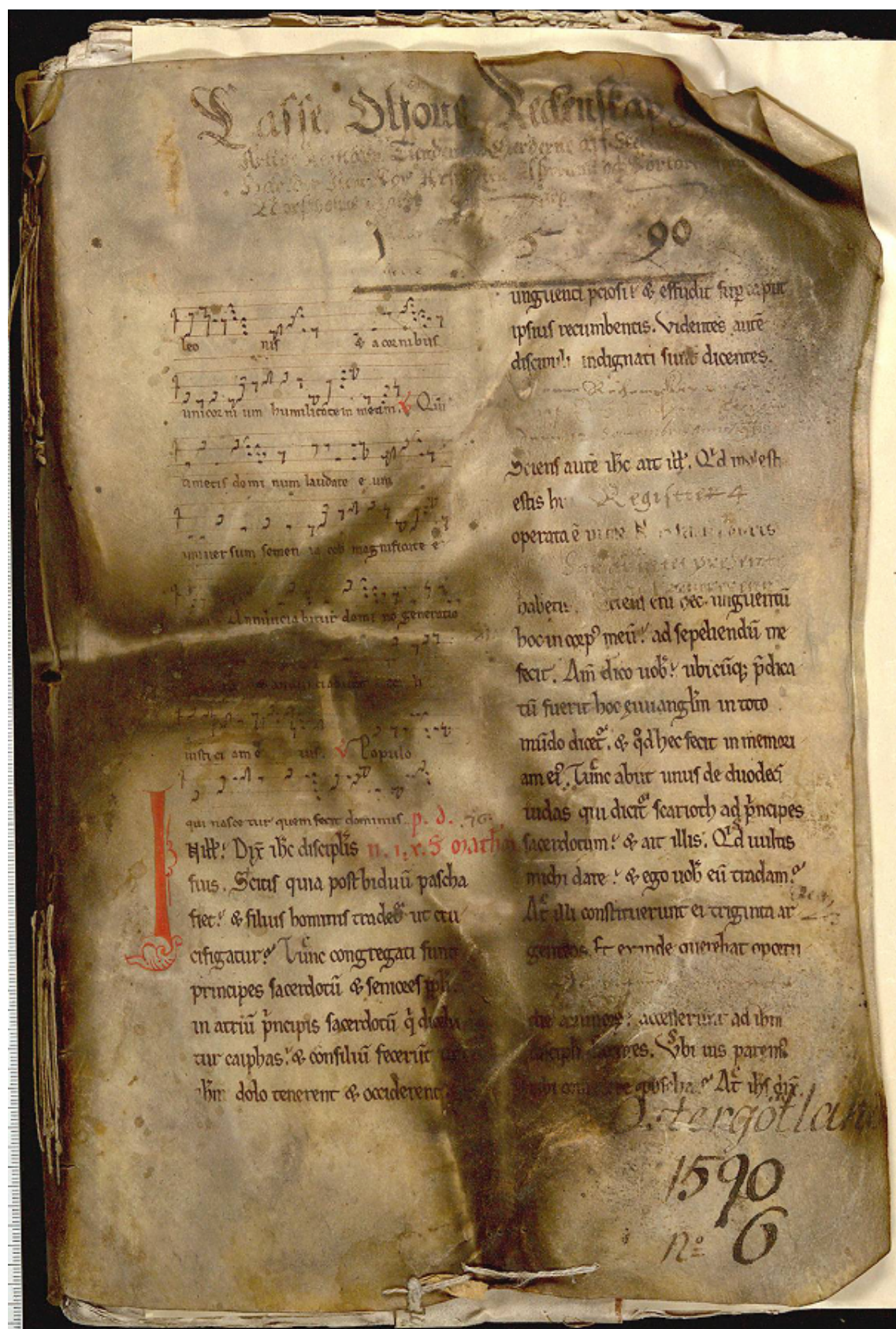


Plate 23. Codex 70 (Fr 448, fol. Ar)



602. & succendit eam igni. Et
 surrexerunt inde nocte: & ibat
 ad munitiorem. **Sabbato**
Adit iudas: quia cepit bellum.
 & quia ascendit clamor bel-
 li ad celum sicut tuba. & cla-
 mor magis de ciuitate. & dicitur
 exercitui. Pugnare hodie pro fratre
 vestro. Et uenit tibi occidendi
 pro eis. & exclamauerunt in oratione
 & cognouerunt castra. **II**
 timotheus. quia machabeus
 est. & fugerit a facie eius. Et per-
 cussit eos plaga magna. &
 ceciderunt ex eis illa die fere oc-
 to milia virorum. Et dicitur in
 das in mactis. & expugnauit
 & cepit eam. & occidit omnem mas-
 culum eius. & superius spolia eius.
 & succendit eam igni. **III**
 inde surrexit & cepit calbonem.
 & mageth & bosor. & reliquas
 ciuitates galathidarum. Post
 hoc congregauit exercitum alium. &
 castra posuit contra nelsonem.
 & uicinis torrenis. Et misit uicinas
 speculatorum exercitum.
Unica. XIX *Unica. XIX*

non apparuit in dominus.

Rante. mus domino glorio se e
nim honori. fice. carus est equum
y accensorem proie cit in ma re
adunor y protector factus est mi
chi dominus in sa litem. **C**ur
rus pharaonis q exieram eius pro
he cit in ma re. Adunor. **Li**

Dixit ergo dñs ad moy
sen. Quid est quod tenes
in manu tua? Respondit. Vir
ga. Dixitq; dñs. Proice illam
in terrā. Proiecit. q; uersa in
colubru. ita ut fugeret moy
ses. Dixitq; dñs. Extende manū
tuā. q; apphende caudā eius.
Extendit. et tenuit. q; uersa
est in uirgā. Ut credant inqt
quod apparuit t dñs dñs pa
trū tuor. dñs abrahā. q; deus
ysaac. q; dñs iacob. Dixit dñs ite
rū. Mitte manū tuam in si
num tuum. Quā cū misisset
in sinū. **q; ptulit iterū. q; erat**
carni relique.

Moyses famulus domi
ni ut quadraginta diebus y
quinta noctibus ut le gen
in meretur ac cipere.
dit moyses in montem sy
Li. H. a. P. arma. f. leti enar. s.
H. illo tēpore. f. c. s. e. s.
Abuit ihc trans mare
lee quod est cyberiad
quebatur eum multat
gna. quia uidebant
que faciebat sup his
firmabatur. Et it. **Om**

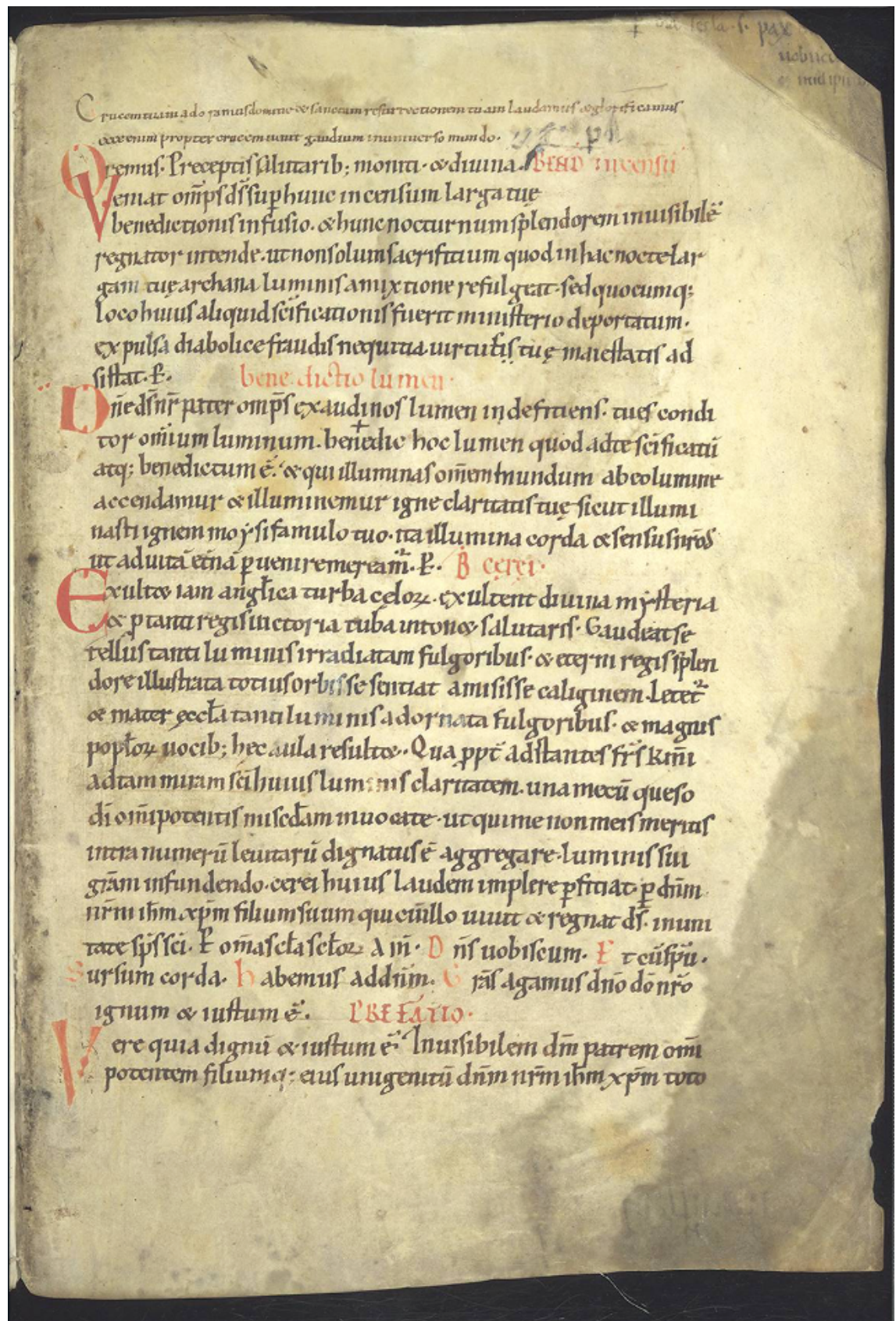
Si signa et mirac
mini ac saluator
rette cū legunt. audiunt
accipiunt. non tā in h
foris stupeāt. attendunt
hoy exemplo ipi intus
quid in his mysticiū pp
debeant. inspicunt. Et
adpropinquante pasce
festo iudeor. seor

A Hornung Register anno 1097

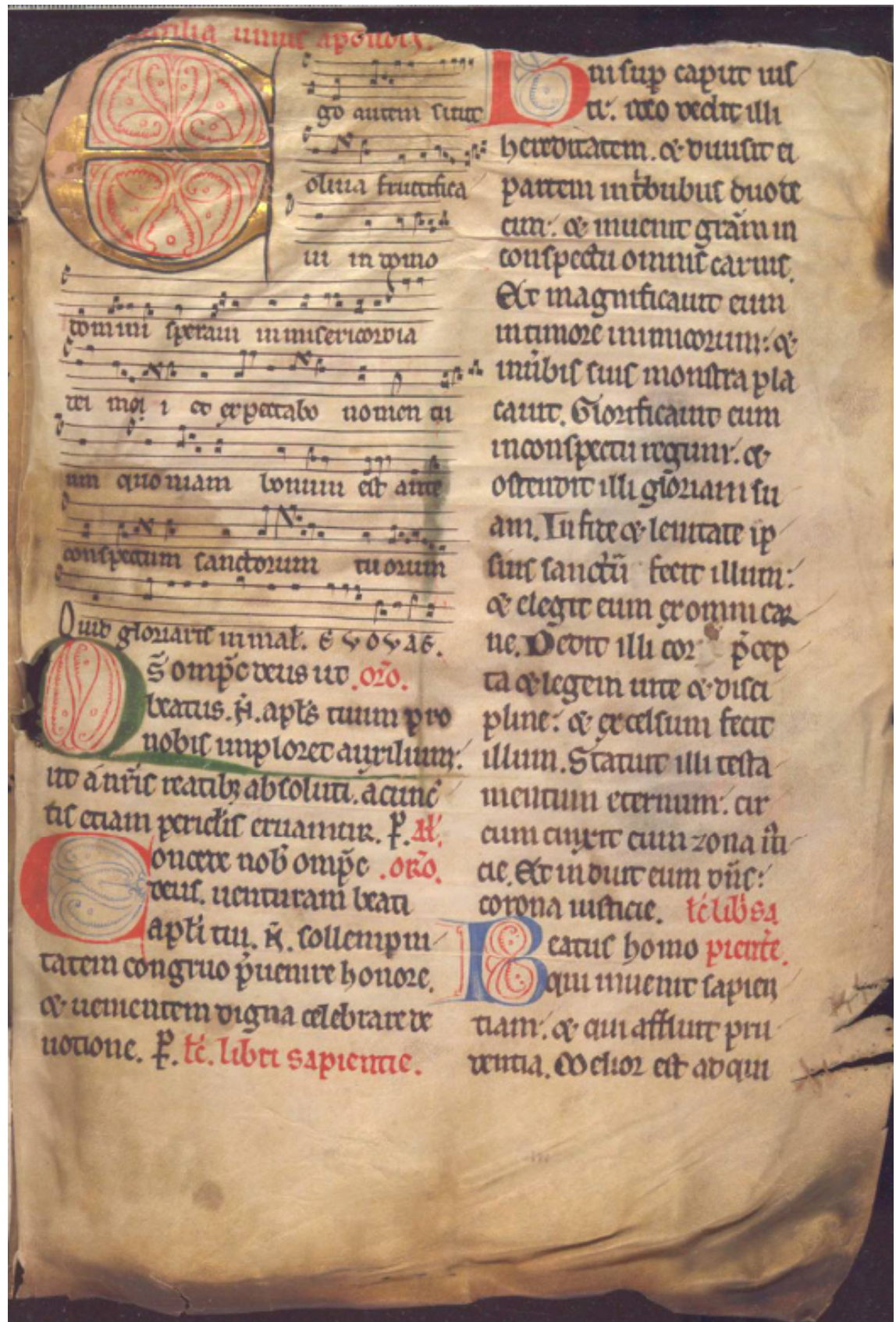
querat puerū ad p̄dendū
eū. Qui confurgens acce
pit puerū et matrē ei⁹ noc
te: & secessit in egyptū.
et erat ibi usq; ad obitum
herodis. ut adimpleretur
qđ dictum est a dño p pro
pheta dicentē. Ex egypto
uocaui filiū meū. Tunc
herodes uidens qđ illūsus
esset a magis: natus ē ual
de. Et mittens occidit
om̄s pueros q̄ erant in be
thleem. et in om̄ib; finib;
eius. ab imatu et infra se
cundū tēpus qđ ex̄sierat
a magis. Tunc adimple
tū est qđ dictū est p ihe
remiam ppham dicentē.
Uox in rama audita est
ploratus et ululatus mul
tus: rachel plorans filios
suos. Et noluit consola
ri: quia non sunt. **A**ns
ma no stra ficut
p̄se r erp̄a est de laqueo
nenantiū laque us contri
tus est et no s libera ti
sumu

Sec

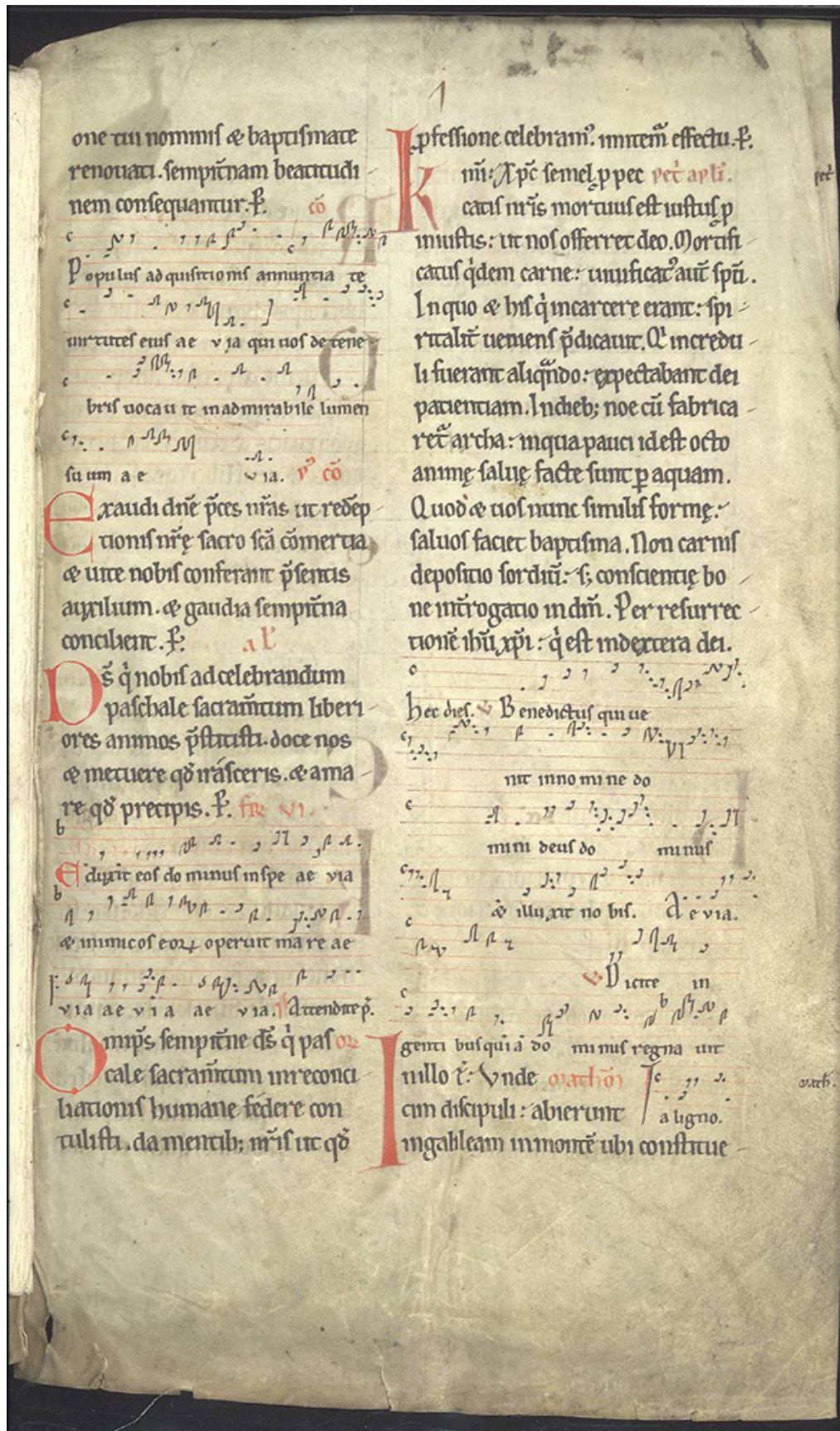
pra non desit oratio. que
& munera nra conciliet
et tiam nobis indulgen
tiam semp obtineat. **P**
Uox in rama audita est ploratus
et ululatus rachel plorans filios
suos noluit consolari quia non sunt
Uotua dñe dona **Post**
pcepimus. que scōz
nobis precibus. et p̄sentis
q̄s uite pariter et eterne
tritione conferre subsidū p̄.
Domine infra dies
uox acceptus silenti um
tuerent omnia et uox
in sup cursu medi um
haberet omni potens sermo tu
us domine de celis a regalib;
sedib; ue nit. **P** Dñi rag
m̄ps sempi **coll.**
terne dñs duri
ge actus n̄r̄s
in beneplaci
to tuo: ut in
nōmine dilecti filii tui
meream̄ bonis operib;
habundare. **P** eundē.
O s qui saluis **alia**
cēne beate marie



monumentū or to iam so le
Ut De deum d. Surrex d' uē. **laud**
Angelus autem domini descendit de
celo et accedens reuoluit lapidem et
sedebat sup eum aeuia aeuia. **Et** eo
ce terremotus factus est magnus
angelus autem domini descendit de
celo aeuia. **Et** erat autem aspectus
eius sicut fulgur uestimenta eius
candida sicut nix aeuia. **Pre** timore
autem eius exterriti sunt custodes
et facti sunt uelut mortui aeuia.
Respondens autem angelus dixit
mulieribus nolite timere scito enim
quod hiesum queritis aeuia. **Surrex**
In euanglio Et ualde matie una
sabbator ueniunt ad monumentū
orto iam sole aeuia. **colla.**
Os qui hodierna die p
unigenitū tuū eter
nitatis nobis aditū deuoc
ta morte reuerasti uota
nrā que pueniendo aspi
ras. etiā ad uiuando pse
quere. **Et eundē** ad. pnam
incipiat cantos. deuia s' in nomine.
Confite beatū unū. rectue sine q'cūq;
uult. Statū dicit. Colla. Sic p totam
septimū faciendū est ad. ii. ad iii. dicit
cantos alia. Iocantē psalmi cotidiani.







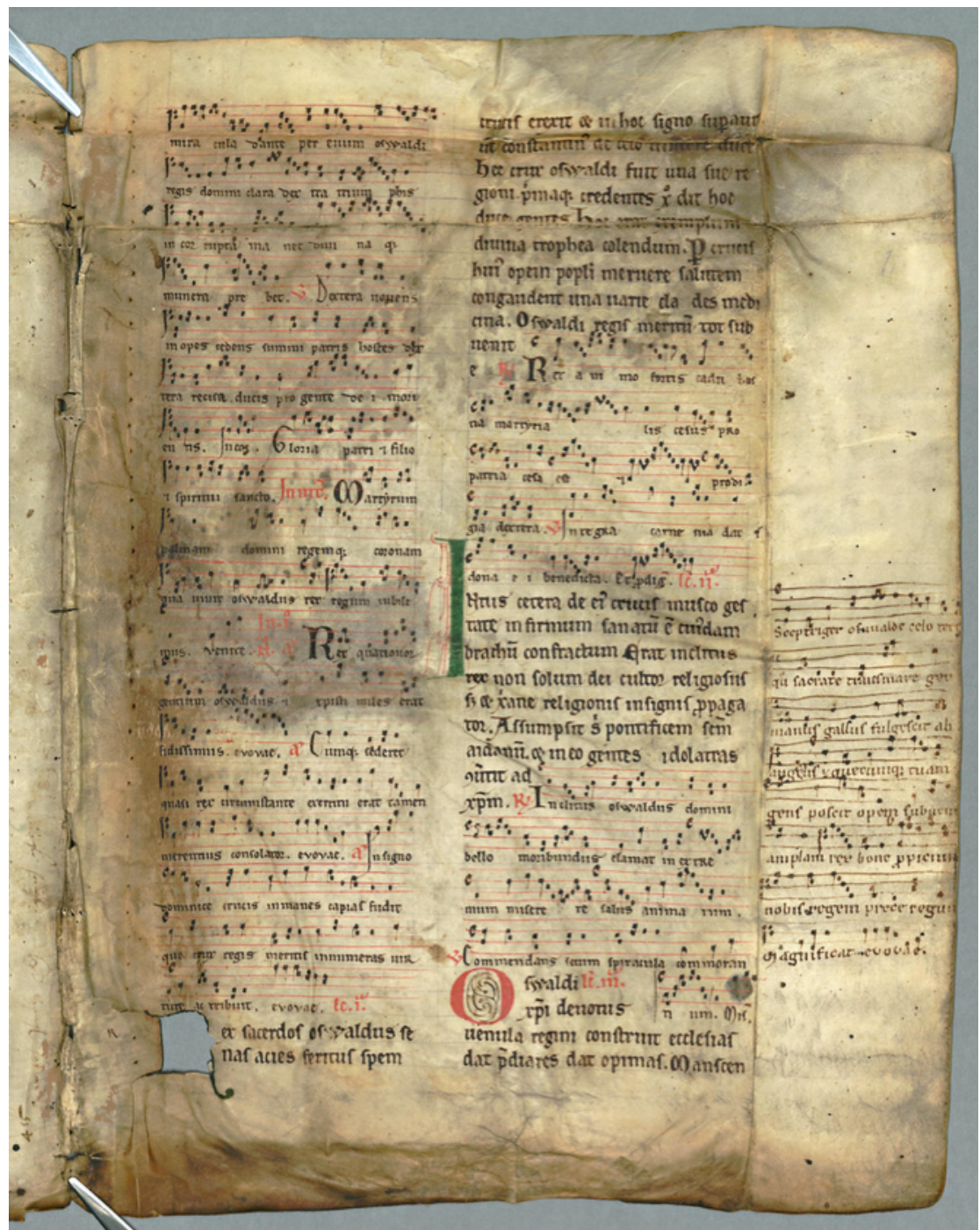


Plate 34. Leo 25 (Fr 25735, fol. 1r, top portion)

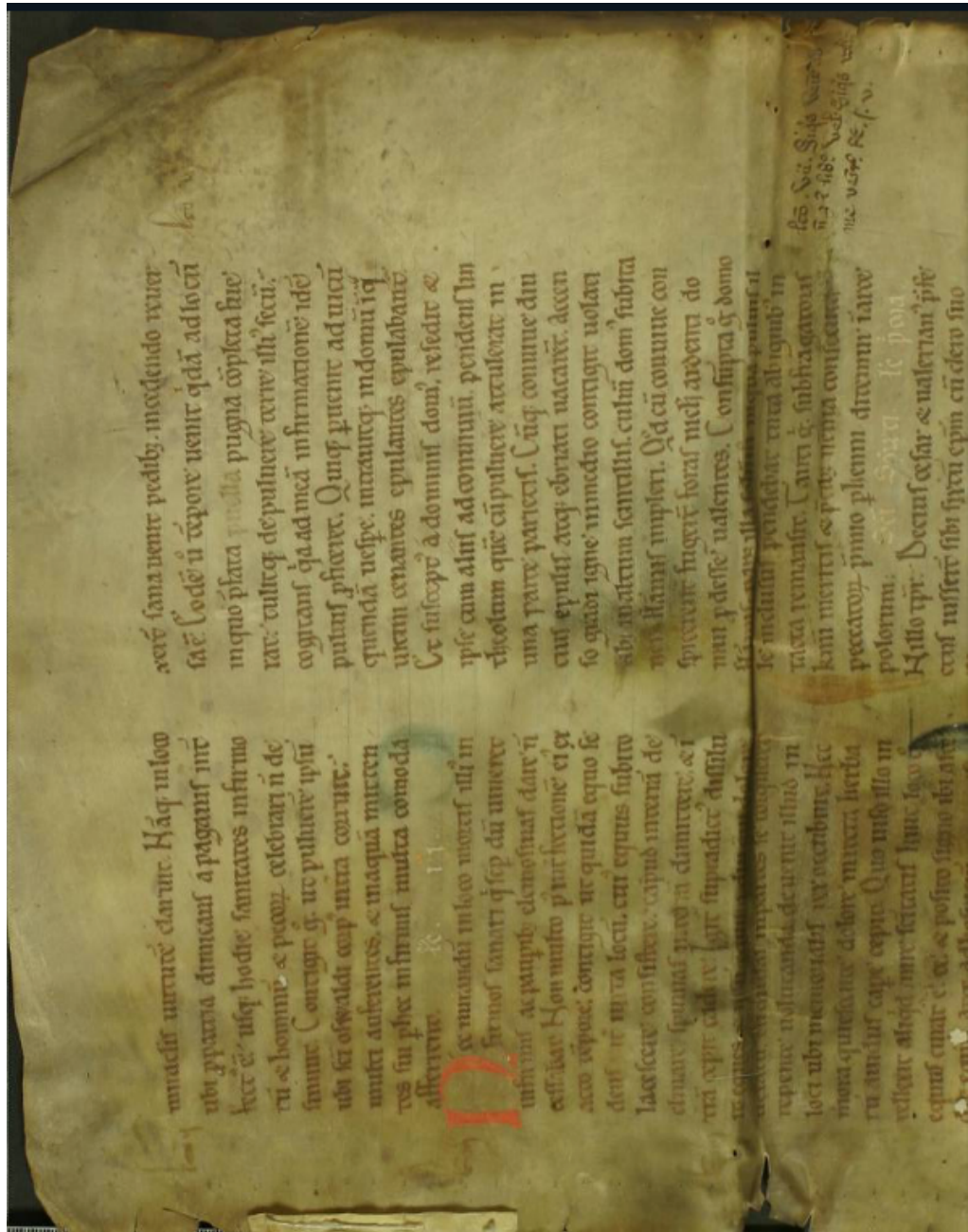


Plate 35. Leo 25 (Fr 25735), details of the revised lesson rubrics

Note '*lectio iij*' and '*lectio iiij*' in the left margin of the text, and the new seventh lesson added in the right margin.

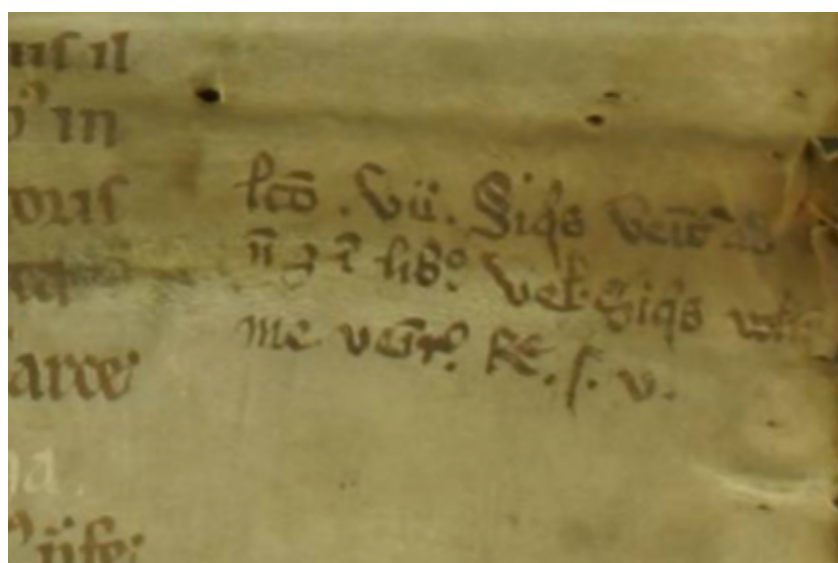
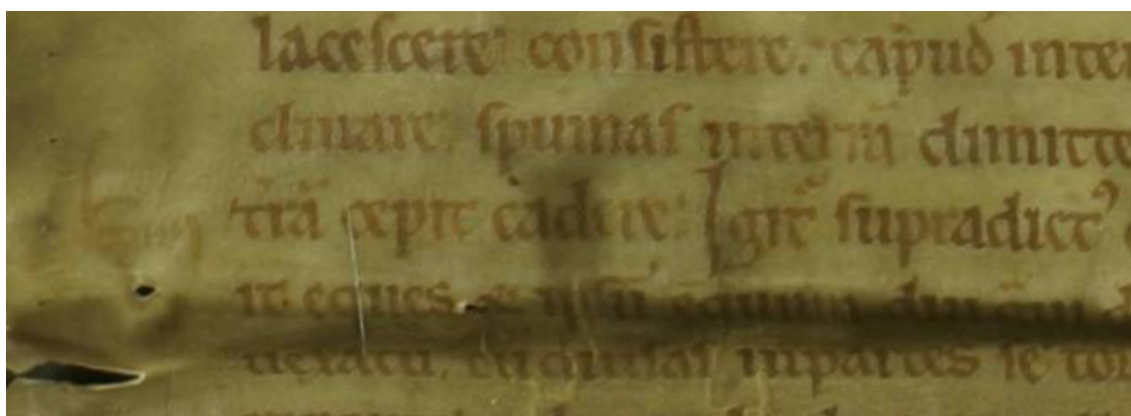
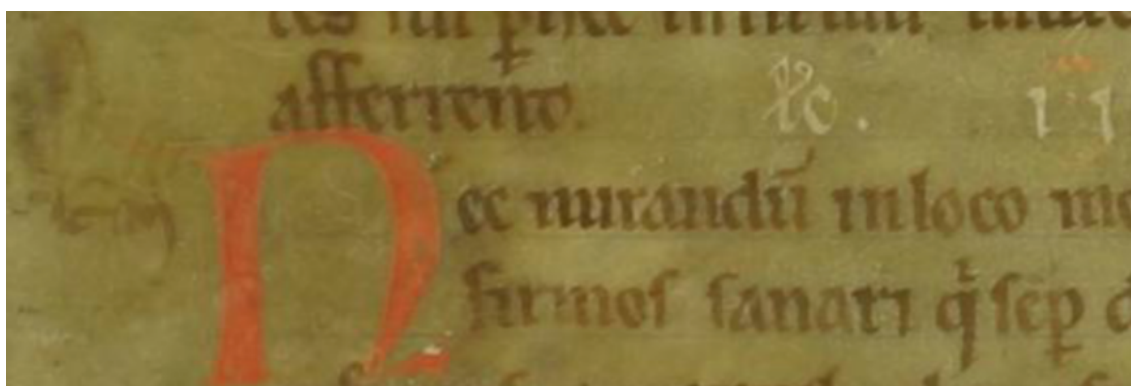
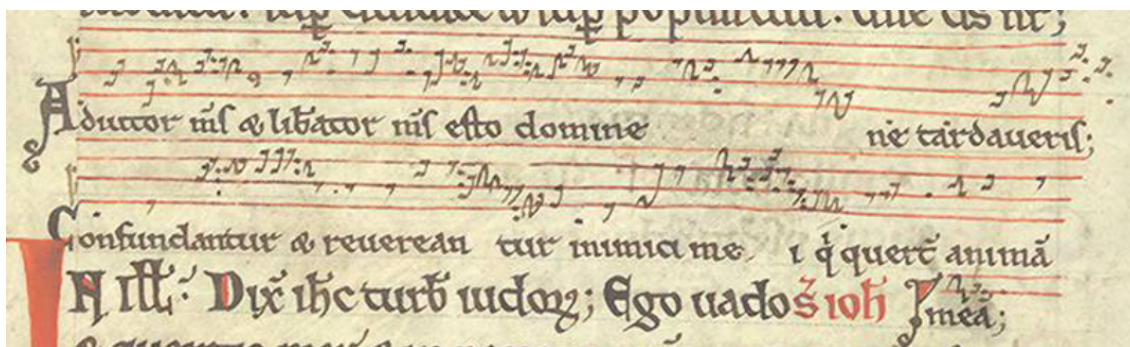
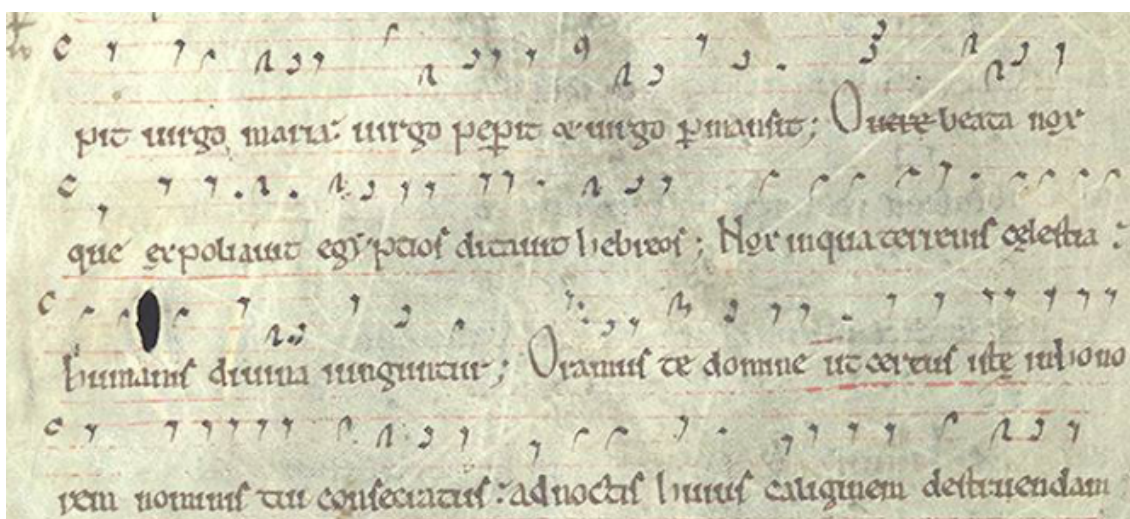


Plate 36. Mi 56 + Codex 1316 *et al.*, examples of music scribal hands



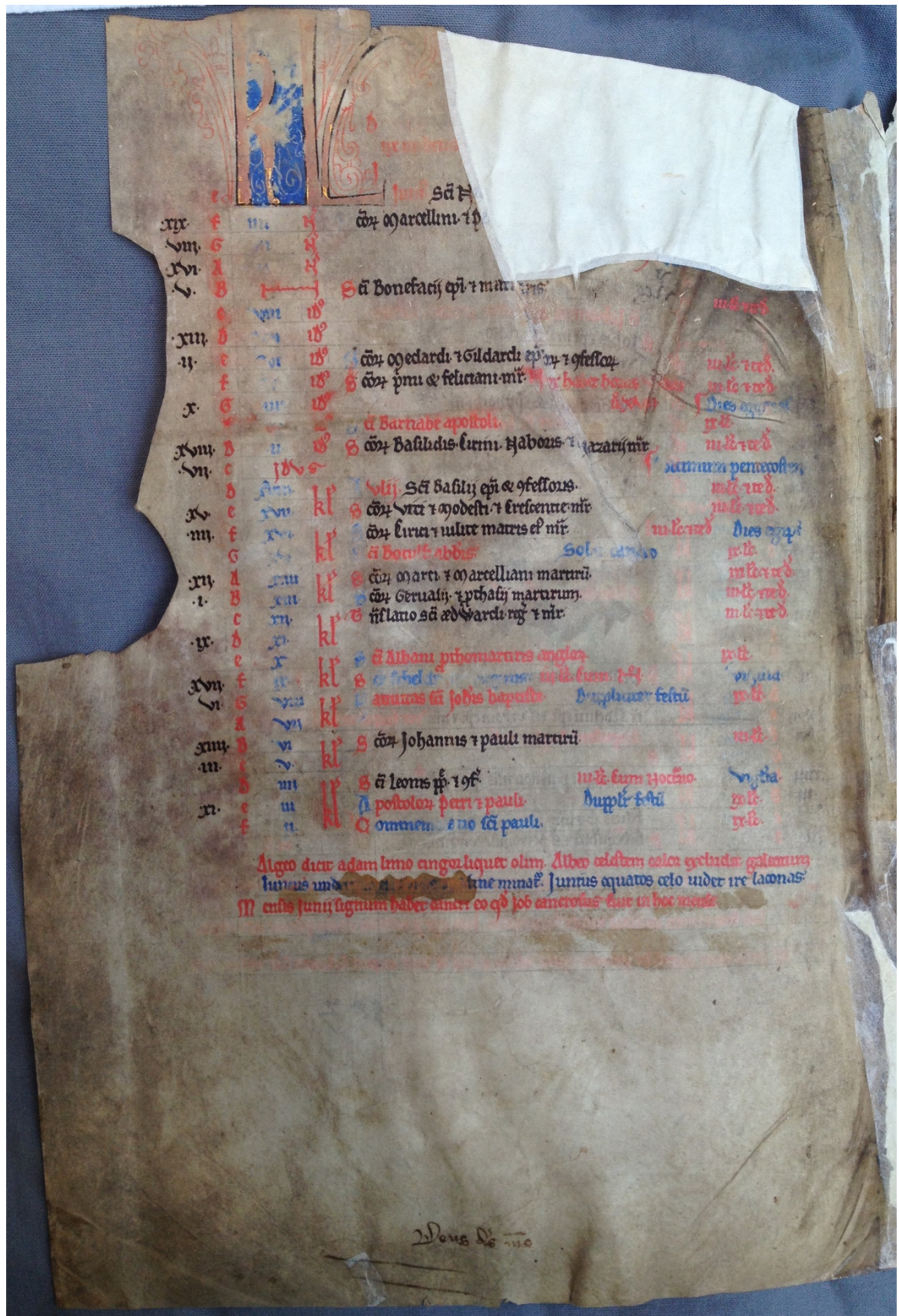
Fr 9226, fol. 1v (music scribe A)



Fr 26212 recto (music scribe B)

[illegible]

Plate 38. Kal 36 (Fr 25628, fol. 1v), June



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The image shows a fragment of a medieval manuscript, possibly a calendar or a liturgical book. The parchment is heavily aged, stained, and torn, with significant portions missing. The text is written in a medieval script, with some words in red ink (rubrication). The page is numbered on the left margin, and the text is organized into columns. A small, circular, ornate initial is visible on the left side. The page is placed on a dark surface, and a ruler is visible at the bottom for scale.

Text on the page:

Left Margin (Numbers): xii, xi, x, ix, viii, vii, vi, v, iiii, iii, ii, i

Main Text (Left Column):

Right Column (Rubricated Text):

Bottom Section (Rubricated Text):

Small Circular Initial (Left Side):

Plate 42. Br 177 (Fr 22031, fol. 1r)

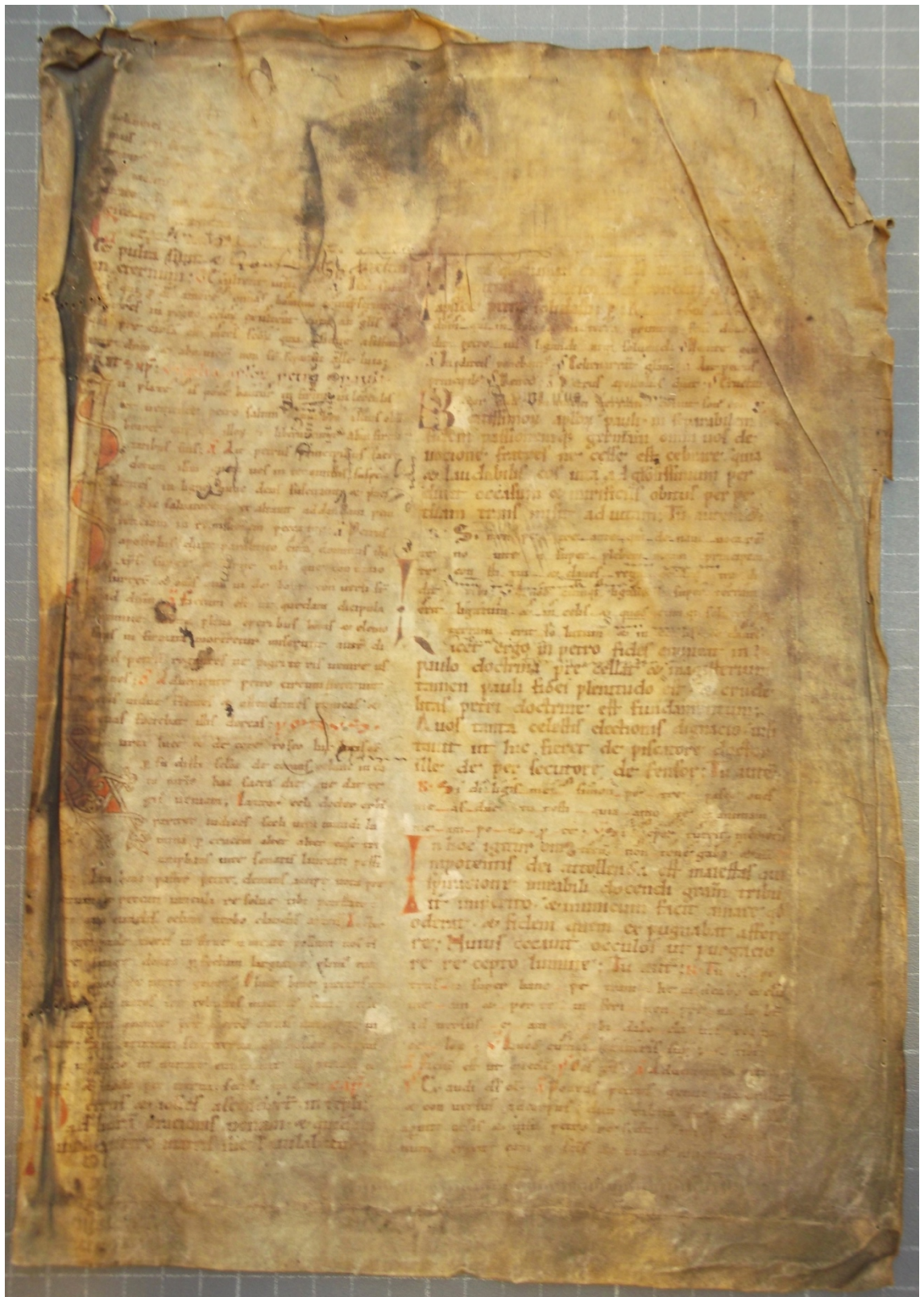
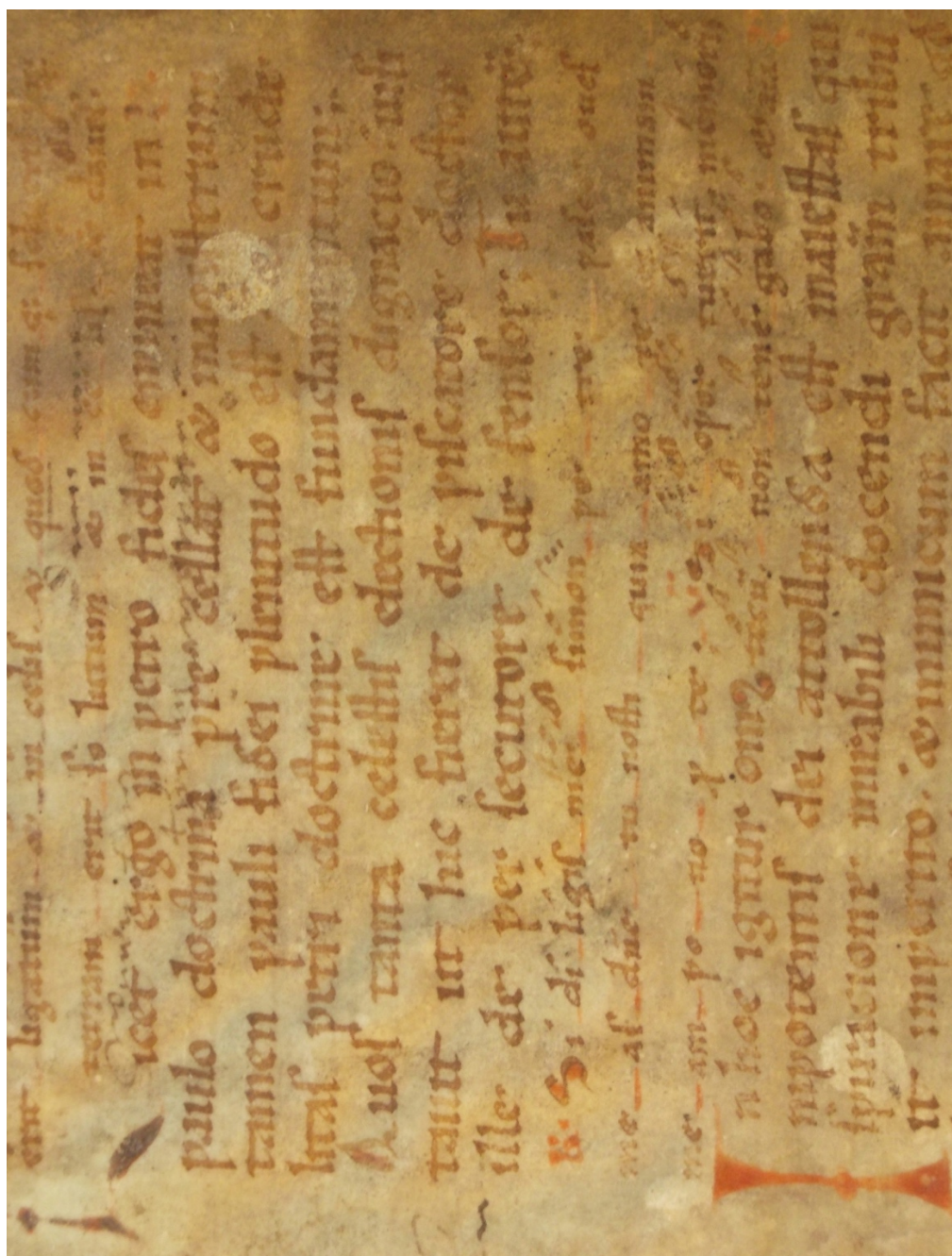


Plate 43. Br 177 (Fr 22031, fol. 1r), highlight of script



Appendix C

List of Fragment Images

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